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OF THE

REV. NATHANIEL WARD, A.M.,

AUTHOR OF THE

SIMPLE COBBLER OF AGAWAM IN AMERICA.

WITH

NOTICES OF HIS FAMILY.

BY

JOHN WARD DEAN.

ALBANY:
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1868.

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TO

SAMUEL GARDNER DRAKE, A M.,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH HIS LABORS AS AN HISTORIAN AND ANTIQUARY ARE HELD

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

The writer of this memoir has long felt a strong desire to know more of the history of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward than could be learned from the brief sketches of his life that, from time to time, have appeared in periodicals and other works. This learned divine was one of the earliest of our American authors; and his merits as a writer, as well as his services in compiling the early laws of Massachusetts, have made his name familiar to the readers of New England history. But the facts related concerning him in the fullest of those sketches, were found to be scanty and unsatisfactory; and, many years ago, the writer began to collect such notices of Mr. Ward's life and writings, as fell in his way in the course of his reading.

The present biography has been compiled from materials gleaned from various and scattered sources. It is not so full in its details as the writer would like, and probably not so full as some subsequent investigator may make it; yet he has been quite as successful in obtaining materials as he hoped for when he began his labors.

The appendix, besides other matters, contains biographic sketches of Mr. Ward's two brothers, and of his oldest son. These sketches are believed to be more full than any previously published. The will of Mr. Ward's father is curious and interesting. The pedigree of the Ward family, by Candler, here

printed from the Bodleian Library, is a most valuable document. The rough draft of this pedigree in the British Museum has long been known, but its arrangement is so confused, that it is of little value compared with that here printed. The list of Mr. Ward's writings, which also will be found in the appendix, has been prepared with much care, and it is hoped that it will be found of service to the readers of this memoir.

In preparing this volume, the author has been indebted to Col. Joseph L. Chester of London, and Rev. Thomas W. Davids of Colchester, England, for some of the most valuable materials here used, consisting largely of the result of their original researches. For the loan of rare books or other assistance, he would acknowledge his indebtedness to Samuel G. Drake, A.M., George Brinley, Esq., Charles Deane, A.M., James Lenox, Esq., Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., J. Wingate Thornton, A.M., William Reed Deane, Esq., the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D., William H. Whitmore, A.M., Jeremiah Colburn, Esq., and William S. Appleton, A.M. He would also return thanks to John H. Sheppard, A.M., John L. Sibley, A.M., and William F. Poole, Esq., the librarians of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, of Harvard University, and of the Boston Athenæum; and to John Appleton, M.D., the assistant librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for their courtesy in allowing him the use of the libraries under their charge.

Boston, Mass., *May* 1*st*, 1868.

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REV. NATHANIEL WARD.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

One of the most independent thinkers and nervous writers connected with Massachusetts in her early colonial days, was the learned Nathaniel Ward, "whose wit made him known to more Englands than one."[1] His best known production, *The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America*, was written within the borders of this state, and may justly be claimed as one of the first fruits of American literature. The terseness of the style of this book, and the novelty of its expressions, arrest the most superficial reader, while a discerning eye detects many a pearl of thought or golden maxim gleaming from its pages. Its quaint apothegms seem to have attracted the attention of the poet Southey, for a copy from his library, with some of its most striking passages marked with his peculiar pencilings, has found its way to this country.[2] Mather thinks that the book demonstrates the author to have been a subtle statesman.[3] Fuller, writing soon after his death,

[1] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, by Cotton Mather, D.D., F.R.S., book iii, chap. xxxi, sec. 2.

[2] Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. i, p. 18. Some of the passages marked by Southey, are there printed.

[3] Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii, chap. xxxi, sec. 1.

praises his wit, and says that following the counsel of Horace,

Ridentem dicere verum
Quis vetat?

"What doth forbid but one may smile
And also tell the truth the while?"

he "hath in a jesting way in some of his books delivered much smart truth of the present time."[1]

Besides its wit, quaintness and sagacity, there is another characteristic of the work so prominent, that it is not likely to be overlooked — one, in fact, which has almost overshadowed its merits in modern days. The views there expressed on religious toleration, to which we refer, differ so widely from the liberal feeling on the subject now prevalent, that it is not strange they attract attention. But, however harsh these opinions may seem to us, they were not peculiar to this author; for they were shared with him by a majority of the people of his day, embracing the most numerous religious denominations then in existence, and much of the learning and piety of the age. There were few sects, when he received his religious education, that approved of toleration; and, though he, himself, had been favored beyond most ministers by foreign travel, his charity does not appear to have been enlarged by his experience abroad. He had witnessed in Holland, and perhaps in Switzerland, a near approach to liberty of conscience as practiced at the present day; but he saw only the evils of the system, the rich train of blessings being concealed from his eye.

It is true, the idea of toleration did not owe its existence in England to the generation for which he wrote.

[1] Fuller's *Worthies of England* (ed. 1840), vol. III, p. 187.

Its germs, at least, were found in the teachings of the Anabaptists and Separatists before he was born; and at the time of his birth, or soon after, Robert Brown [1] was boldly promulgating his views which denied the right of the state to interfere in religious matters. But the spirit of toleration made slow progress; and when this book appeared, it had only been for a few years that any considerable number of people in that country had advocated the cause of religious freedom. A decided majority in the nation, even then, contended for the power and duty of the magistrate to support religion, and suppress heresy, as they understood these terms, by the strong arm of the law. The sentiments on toleration expressed in this book abound in many of the sermons preached before the house of commons [2] and in not a few of the controversial works of the day.

Mr. Ward, himself, professes to be in favor of liberty of conscience within what he considers reasonable limits. "I have," he says, "cause enough to be as charitable to others as any man living.[3]" He thinks

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[1] See *The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth*, by Samuel Hopkins, vol. II, pp. 284–315, for a fair account of the opinions and character of Robert Brown and his followers. The settlers of New England, especially the Semi-Separatists of Plymouth, are sometimes called Brownists, but this term was repudiated, and it cannot properly be applied to any community among them. We can remember no prominent individuals who were Brownists, unless it be Roger Williams and Ralph Smith. During the residence of Williams in Massachusetts, the religious opinions advanced by him, differed little, if any, from those to which Robert Brown gave his name.

[2] See Sermons by Rev. Dr. Cornelius Burges, in 1641; by Rev. Arthur Salwey, in 1643; by Rev. Thomas Thorowgood, Humphrey Hardwick, William Reyner, Edmund Calamy and Lazarus Seaman, in 1644; by Rev. William Good and John Lightfoot, in 1645; by Rev. Richard Vines, in 1646; by Rev. Thomas Case and George Hughes, in 1647; and by Rev. Thomas Watson, in 1649.

[3] *Simple Cobler*, 1st, 2d and 3d eds., p. 19; 4th, p. 20.

that, "Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak consciences argues a conscience too strong," for "pressed uniformity in these causes much disunity."[1] And further, he considers that "Tolerations in things tolerable, exquisitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture and the pensill of the Spirit are the sacred favours of truth, the due latitudes of Love, the fair Compartiments of Christian fraternity."[2]

Rev.[3] Nathaniel Ward was the son[4] of Rev. John and Mrs. Susan Ward, and was born without much doubt between 1578 and 1580. Mather, who gives his birth-place as Haverhill, England, states that he was born at an earlier date, namely in 1570,[5] but this could

[1] *Simple Cobler*, 1st to 4th eds., p. 5.

[2] Ibid., 1st to 4th eds., pp. 4, 5.

[3] We shall use this modern prefix for convenience to designate clergymen. At the time of which we are writing, their usual prefix was *Mr.*

[4] There is little doubt that he was the *second* son. His brother John is called the youngest son in his father's will, and his brother Samuel is called the eldest in Clarke's *Ipswich*, Ryle's *Memoir of S. Ward*, and other modern authorities. Though we have found no direct evidence in any early book or document, that Samuel was the eldest son of his father, we consider it safe to assume that he was; for he entered college before Nathaniel; his name is placed before Nathaniel's, both on his father's tablet, and in the Candler pedigrees; and by his father's will he is to receive his legacies immediately, while Nathaniel and John are to wait till they arrive at certain ages.

[5] Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii, chap. xxxi, sec. 1.

Mather says he was born "at Haverhill, in Essex;" and part of Haverhill is really in Essex, though the church is in Suffolk. Later writers place his birth at Haverhill in Suffolk.

We wrote in 1865 to W. W. Boreham, Esq., of Haverhill, England, inquiring whether the baptisms of Nathaniel Ward and his brothers were recorded at Haverhill; and, erroneously supposing John Ward to have been the incumbent of that living, we asked if the vicarage house was in Suffolk or Essex. He replied thus; "Our parish register does not go back so far as his time, consequently I can add nothing to your stock of information from that source; I may say the same as to whether Rev. Nathaniel Ward was born in Suffolk or Essex. At present we possess no vicarage house. There is a tradition that there

not be, as, at the date of his father's will, October 9, 1598,[1] he was under twenty-two, consequently he was born subsequent to October 9, 1576. The fact that his brother Samuel, who was older than he, was not born till about the year 1577, makes it likely that he himself was born, at least, as late as 1578.

Rev. Matthias Candler of Coddenham in Suffolk, who has preserved the pedigree[2] of this family among his genealogical collections now in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and the British Museum at London, describes the grandfather of Nathaniel Ward, as "..... Ward of Rivenhall in Essex, Gent., of such esteeme in his cuntry that being then chiefe constable, he, by an oration which he made on Rayne common, quieted a commotion."[3] We presume he was head

was a house of this description in a field (now nearly covered with a factory) adjoining the churchyard; but the tradition is faint, and whatever of history there is about it, is, I fear, lost. The present vicar resides at the manor house in Essex, but I believe the lord of the manor resided there at about the time of Nathaniel Ward's birth. We suspect that a great deal of property formerly 'copy hold' has fallen into the hands of the lord of the manor, and in this manner we account for the absence of deeds and other documents that might solve many a historical problem. I think, however, the circumstance of the mention of Ward's name as of Haverhill in Essex, would not necessarily imply that he resided or was born in that county, for even now people write the place of either county indifferently."

Mr. Ward mentions the county of Essex in *The Simple Cobler* (p. 27 of 1st and 2d eds., p. 28 of 3d, and p. 29 of 4th), in a way to show that he took particular interest in it; but this interest may have arisen from his residence there previous to his emigration.

[1] See Appendix II.

[2] The rough notes for this pedigree are in the British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 6071, and fair copies in the Bodleian library, *Tanner Manuscripts*, 257 and 180. See Appendix I.

[3] *Tanner Manuscripts*, 180. The rough draft, *Harleian Manuscripts*, 6071, reads: "Ward of Rivenall in Essex, a chefe constable of such an esteeme in his country, that by an oration he made, he quieted a commotion of people."

constable of Witham, the hundred in which Rivenhall is situated.[1] It is stated on the tablet at Haverhill to the memory of his son John, the father of Nathaniel, that he "was *heere* gathered to his fathers." This seems to indicate that his ancestors were buried at Haverhill, though it is possible that such was not the meaning intended to be conveyed.

John Ward, above named, was a preacher of the gospel at Haverhill and Bury St. Edmunds, in the county of Suffolk, for twenty-five years.[2] The famous Dr. William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge,[3] had the highest opinion of him, and used to say, "Give me John Ward for a text."[4] According to Fuller, he was "a painful minister at Haverhill for a long time.[5] The position he held there is uncertain. Rev. Lawrence Fairclough was the vicar of the parish till 1603,[6] and possibly Mr. Ward may have been his curate. Rev. Mr. Davids, however, thinks it more probable that he was lecturer there, as his son Samuel is known to have been at a later date.[7] This opinion seems reasonable. From the facts that he preached in the above two parishes twenty-five years, and died in 1598, it is evident that he commenced preaching at

[1] Rev. Mr. Davids of Colchester, writes: "All search at Rivenhall for the date of John Ward's birth, is hopeless, as the parish register does not commence till 1599."

[2] Inscription at Haverhill, *post*.

[3] See a sketch of Dr. Whitaker's life, in Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, pp. 71–85. His son Alexander, author of *Good News from Virginia*, baptized Pocahontas and married her to John Rolfe. See Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. I, p. 7.

[4] *The Real Christian*, by Giles Firmin, *preface*.

[5] Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. III, p. 186.

[6] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, p. 421.

[7] A manuscript letter to the writer of this memoir, dated "Colchester, April 11, 1866."

Haverhill as early as 1573. His son Samuel is said by Fuller,[1] by Rev. Mr. Ryle[2] and by Mr. G. R. Clarke,[3] to have been born there; and Mather, as before stated, gives that town as the birth-place of Nathaniel.[4] It is therefore probable, that he did not remove from the parish before 1580. Rev. Benjamin Brook, who does not appear to have known that he ever preached at Bury St. Edmunds, tells us that, after leaving Haverhill, "he appears to have become minister at Writtle, near Chelmsford in Essex, but about the year 1584, was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for not wearing the surplice. On account of his nonconformity, though he was a most excellent and peaceable man, Aylmer drove him from one place to another by means of which he was exceedingly harrassed, and not suffered to continue long in any one situation."[5]

There is reason to doubt whether Brook has not confounded some other Puritan minister by the name of Ward, with the Haverhill divine. The inscription to Rev. John Ward's memory, which will be given hereafter, does not allude to his ministry at Writtle, nor intimate that at any time he led a wandering life. It is true that a "Mr. Ward of Writtle," is found in a list of thirty-eight "painful ministers of Essex," whom their diocesan, John Aylmer, bishop of London, in his visit to Essex in the summer of 1584, suspended for not wearing the surplice, and whom he

[1] Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. III, p. 187.

[2] *Sermons and Treatises* by Samuel Ward, B.D., with a memoir by J. C. Ryle, B. A. (Edinburgh, 1862), memoir, p. vi.

[3] *History and Description of the Town and Borough of Ipswich*, p. 342.

[4] Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xxxi, sec. 1.

[5] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. I, p. 305.

threatened to deprive, declaring that they should be *white* with him, or he would be *black* with them;[1] but his full name, John Ward, is found in a list of ministers suspended about the same time, in Suffolk.[2] It is possible, however, that Brook found something in the unpublished manuscript[3] where these lists are preserved, to identify the minister at Writtle,[4] with the Haverhill preacher.

We are told by Brook that he subscribed to the *Book of Discipline*.[5] This book was prepared by the Puritan clergy in 1586, and was subscribed by more than five hundred ministers, "all divines of good learning and of unspotted lives."[6]

Mr. Ward died between October 9, 1598, the date of his will, and the 31st of the same month, when it was proved at the prerogative court of Canterbury. He describes himself in his will, as a "preacher of

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans* (ed. 1816), vol. I, p. 425; Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. I. p. 49.

[2] Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. I, p. 46. There were sixty-four ministers suspended in the county of Norfolk, sixty in Suffolk, thirty in Sussex, thirty-eight in Essex, twenty in Kent and twenty-one in Lincolnshire.

[3] This manuscript is entitled, *The Second Part of a Register*, and was collected by Rev. Roger Morrice, who was ejected at the Restoration, from Dutfield in Derbyshire. See Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, p. 539, and Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial* (ed. 1778), vol. I, p. 316. The manuscript is now in Dr. Williams's library, London.

[4] Newcourt's *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, gives an account of Writtle in Essex; but no list of rectors. Rev. Mr. Davids informs us that the reason why no list is given, is because it was a college living.

[5] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. I, p. 306. Neal, whom Brook gives as authority, does not give the Christian name of the Mr. Ward, who subscribed. See Neal's *Puritans* (ed. 1816), vol. I, p. 471.

[6] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. I, p. 53; Neal's *Puritans, ubi supra*. Neal gives the form of writing which they subscribed.

God's woord," at Bury St. Edmunds.[1] He seems, however, to have been buried at Haverhill, for in the chancel of the church in that town there is a mural tablet to his memory with the following inscription :[2]

JOHANNES
WARDE.

Quo ſi quis ſcivit ſcitius,
Aut ſi quis docuit doctius,
At rarus vixit ſanctius,
Et nullus tonuit ſortius.

SON OF THUNDER, SON OF YE DOVE,
FVLL OF HOT ZEALE, FULL OF TRVE LOVE,
IN PREACHING TRVTH, IN LIVING RIGHT,
A BVRNING LAMP, A SHINING LIGHT.

Lights here. Stars hereafter.

Iohn Ward, after he wth greate euidence and power of ye ſpirite, & wth much fruite, preachd ye Goſpel at Haueril & Bury in Suff. 25 yeares, was heere gathered to his fathers. Suſan, his widowe, married Richard Rogers, that worthie Paſtor of Wetherſfielde. He
Watch left 3 ſonnes, Samuel, Nathaniel, Iohn, preachers, Warde.
who for them & theirs, wiſh no greater bleſſing than yt they may continue in beleeving & preaching the ſame Goſpel till ye coming of Chriſt. Come, Lord Ieſus, come quicklye.

Watch Death is our entrance into life. Warde.

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[1] This will was found in 1865, by Joseph L. Chester, Esq., after a laborious search. A copy of it from a *verbatim* transcript by Mr. Chester, will be printed in Appendix II.

[2] See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVIII, pp. 273–4. The writer has a photograph of this mural tablet, which was kindly furnished him by W. W. Boreham, Esq., of Haverhill, England.

The Latin lines are quoted by Fuller in his *Worthies of England*, who thus translates them :

> Grant some of knowledge greater store,
> More learned some in teaching ;
> Yet few in life did lighten more,
> None thundered more in preaching.[1]

Rev. John Ward's will names three sons, the same that are mentioned on the above tablet, and by Candler in all his pedigrees of this family, namely, Samuel,[2] Nathaniel and John ;[3] and two daughters, Abigail and Mary.[4] Fuller gives four sons to Rev. John Ward ; for writing of Samuel, he says: "He had three brethren ministers, on the same token that some have said that these four put together would not make up the abilities of their father. Nor were they themselves offended with this hyperbole, to have the branches lessened to greaten their root." [5] Candler in his rough draft of the Ward pedigree,[6] apparently gives countenance to this statement, for an "Edward m^r^ of Arts," seems to be

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[1] Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. III, p. 186.

In the *Magna Britannia* (London, 1730), vol. v, p. 241, this translation is given with some variations. The third line is nearer the original, reading :

> Yet few in life were holy more.

The other changes are not important.

[2] See *Biographical Sketch of Rev. Samuel Ward, B.D.*, in Appendix V.

[3] See *Biographical Sketch of Rev. John Ward*, in Appendix VI.

[4] Abigail and Mary were under eighteen when their father made his will, consequently they were born after October 9, 1680. They are not mentioned by Candler, unless they are the persons of these names, represented by him as sisters of John Ward, senior, who married Samuel Wood of Dedham, and Samuel Waite of Wethersfield, respectively.

[5] Fuller's *Worthies of England*, vol. III, pp. 186 – 7.

[6] *Harleian Manuscripts*, 6071, in the British Museum.

represented as a brother to Samuel, Nathaniel and John. This draft, however, is so confused, that before we knew of his perfect copy, we were in doubt whether Edward was meant for a son of John Ward, senior, as others read it, or his nephew. It appears from the revised copy that he was a son of his nephew.

After his death, his widow, Susan, married Rev. Richard Rogers of Wethersfield in Essex,[1] author of the *Seven Treatises*, whom she also survived.[2] She was alive in 1639, twenty-one years after his death, as her son, Samuel, in his will, dated October 19 of that year, bequeathes her an annuity of two pounds, during her life, "to be paid to her at her now dwelling house at Wethersfield."[3] That son, with true filial affection, had previously dedicated to her one of his treatises, namely, his *Life of Faith in Death*, and expressed a hope that she might live long to bless her children with her daily prayers, especially her sons, "in that work which needs much watering."[4]

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[1] Firmin's *Real Christian*, preface, "To the Christian Reader;" John Ward's mural tablet, and the *Candler Manuscripts*.

For biographical notices of Rev. Richard Rogers, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. v, pp. 116–18, and Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, pp. 231–4. His will is printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVII, pp. 326–9.

[2] Rev. Giles Firmin, who married her granddaughter, relates in his *Real Christian*, pp. 75, 76, an anecdote, which he had from an old man, who said he had it from her own lips, of her intercession with her second husband, in behalf of his kinsman, Rev. John Rogers, the famous minister of Dedham, while he was at college. But as her first husband lived till after John Rogers had left college and been settled in the ministry several years, it must have been of Richard Rogers's first wife that she told the story, if she told it at all. Mr. Firmin's statement will be reprinted in Appendix IV.

[3] See abstract of his will in Appendix V.

[4] *Life of Faith in Death*, ed. 1627. This dedication will be found in Appendix III.

CHAPTER II.

Education and Travels.

In the year 1596, two years previous to his father's death, he entered that nursery of Puritans, Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge.[1] This college had been founded twelve years before, by Sir Walter Mildmay, and was still under the charge of the famous Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, its first master.[2] At Cambridge, he took the degree of A.B., in 1599, 1600, and his A.M., in 1603.[3] Fuller names him in a list of learned writers of his college, who were not fellows.[4]

One of his brothers, and probably both, were educated at the same university, though they were of a different college: and all of the three brothers, as stated on the mural tablet at Haverhill, followed their father's example, and devoted themselves to the Christian ministry. All of them, also, suffered under Archbishop Laud, for nonconformity to ceremonies which their consciences rejected. The profession to which he himself was originally educated, was not, however, the ministry, but the law; and this profession, he practiced for some time before he became a clergyman. Mather says, that previous to entering the ministry he was "intended for, and employed in the study of the

[1] Hon. James Savage in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXVIII, p. 248; and C. H. and Thompson Cooper of Cambridge, England (authors of the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*), in *Notes and Queries*, Nov. 23, 1861, 3d series, vol. XII, p. 426.

[2] See biographical sketch of Dr. Chadderton, in Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, pp. 445–8.

[3] James Savage and C. H. and T. Cooper, *ubi supra*.

[4] *History of the University of Cambridge, etc.* (ed. 1840), p. 206.

law;"[1] Winthrop, that he had been "a student and practiser of the course of the common law;"[2] and Candler, that he had been "an utter barrister."[3] Of his knowledge of the law, we may judge somewhat from his own testimony, that he had "read almost all the Common Law of England, and some Statutes,"[4]

After studying and practicing the law in England, he traveled on the continent, probably, extensively; for he tells us that he had seen, in his time, "the best part of twenty Christian kings and princes,"[5] and "most of the reformed churches in Europe."[6] Mather states that he accompanied "certain merchants into Prussia and Denmark;"[7] but whether he was in their employ, or merely improved this opportunity for seeing foreign countries, under their protection, we are not informed. While abroad, he visited Heidelberg, which then, or at a subsequent time, had a special interest for an Englishman, as the residence of his sovereign's daughter; it being the capital of the Palatinate, whose elector, in 1613, married Elizabeth, daughter of James I, king of England. The picturesque scenery, and historic memories of the place, no doubt excited enthusiasm in the breast of a person of refined culture in the prime of life; and the learning and piety of the celebrated Pareus,[8] who then graced the theo-

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii, chap. xxxi, sec. 1.

[2] Winthrop's *Journal*, edited by Savage, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 55; 2d ed., p. 66.

[3] See Appendix I.

[4] *Simple Cobler*, 1st, 2d and 3d eds., p. 63; 4th ed., p. 66.

[5] Ibid., 1st, 2d and 3d eds., p. 46; 4th ed., p. 48.

[6] Ibid., 1st and 2d eds., p. 39; 3d ed., p, 40; 4th ed., p. 42.

[7] Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii, chap. xxxi, sec. 1.

[8] The name of David Pareus, a voluminous theological writer, will be found in the common biographical dictionaries. Clarke has a notice of him in his *Mirror of Ecclesiastical History* (1650), pp. 474–80. He was born at Francolstein, in Silesia, in 1548. His German

logical chair of this time-honored university, could not fail to command the reverence of one brought up under Puritan influences. It was during this visit, according to Mather, that Mr. Ward was induced, through the influence of that pious divine, to quit the profession to which he had been bred, and devote himself for the remainder of his life to the service of his maker, as a preacher of the gospel.[1] Mr. Ward, himself, mentions a personal interview with Pareus,[2] whose sincerity and "painful" devotion to his duty, appears to have made a deep impression on his mind.

He must have entered the ministry as early as 1618, for in a postscript which he appended to his brother Samuel's tract, *Jethro's Justice of Peace*, he styles himself the author's brother in the ministry, as well as in the flesh and the Lord. As this postscript was written from Elbing in Prussia, his visit to Heidelberg, if it preceded his entering the ministry, as we infer from Mather's statement, must have taken place before 1618. This was before the elector palatine accepted the crown of Bohemia, and consequently before the disastrous war commenced which drove Frederic and his family from his principality.

It is not improbable that Mr. Ward resided at Elbing for some time, and that he acted as chaplain at the factory of the Eastland merchants, which had been established there as early as 1580.[3]

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name was *Wangler*, which he translated into Latin, *Pareus*. He was patronized by the elector palatine, and made theological professor at Heidelberg. His death occurred in June, 1622, at his house in the suburbs of Heidelberg.

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii, chap. xxxi, sec. 1.

[2] *Simple Cobler*, 1st and 2d eds., p. 39; 3d ed., p. 40; and 4th ed., p. 42.

[3] *Calendars of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1547–80, p. 696. A proclamation of Charles I, dated March 7, 1629–30, printed in Ry-

His son-in-law, Rev. Giles Firmin, in 1670, gives an anecdote of "one nearly related" who "almost sixty years since," was "Minister to a Company of English Merchants in Prussia,"[1] and we think it extremely probable that Firmin meant his father-in-law.[2]

The year 1618, in which Mr. Ward writes from Prussia, was that in which the arch-duke Frederic died, and his hereditary dominions were united to Brandenburg, under the elector, John Sigismund.

The postscript or epistle is as follows:

"To my louing Brother, Mr. Samvel Ward:

"Brother, if you meet with your *Iethros* counsell returned from beyond the Seas, and as much beyond your expectation preserued aliue, as his sonne in law was against *Pharaoh's* Iniunction; meruell as much as you will, but bee no more offended then you haue cause. Joab sinned wider on the other hand, in destroying Dauid's *Absalom*, contrary to his serious charge, yet *Ioab* was pardoned, and yet no brother. I haue noted you hitherto inexorable for your owne publishing of anything of your owne; whether out of

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mer's *Fœdera*, XIX, 129, states that the society and company of Eastland merchants, trading in the Baltic seas, had for the space of fifty years at least, had settled and constant possession of the trade in those parts.

[1] Firmin's *Real Christian*, p. 60. The Boston edition (p. 61) omits the marginal note, "almost sixty years since."

[2] In 1623, the Eastland merchants, in answer to their petition the year before, had liberty granted to them, by an order of council, to remove from Elbing to Dantzic, or any other place on the Baltic, the bar of the former place having grown so shallow, that their vessels had to unload in small boats. They had also to pay double tolls, namely, to the King of Poland and the Duke of Prussia.—*Calendar of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1619–23, p. 344, and 1623–5, p. 560.

iudgement, modesty, curiosity or melancholy, I iudge not: but when others haue aduentured them with fruit and acceptance into the light, I haue seene you rest content with the publique good. The like leaue I haue taken, expecting the like successe, assuring you and myselfe of the generall welcomnesse and vsefulnesse heereof to all whom it concernes, which are the greatest number of the land, euen so many as haue any reference to Sessions and Assises, if not all sorts of Christians. Onely I feare that the corruption of our times is growne so grosse and *Eglon*-like that it doth not *Ehud*-like enough sharpen the poynts and send them home to the heft, that they may reach to the quicke. I had, myselfe, added thereto a proiect and perswasion for the redresse of many abuses crept into the offices and officers, hauing spent so much time in the study of the law, and execution of some offices as made me weary of the errours I saw, and heartily wish the reformation of them: but fearing I haue learned too much bluntnesse and plumpnesse of speech among the Lutherans, which is here as prime a quality as smoothnes with you, as also loth to meddle out of mine orb, in my second thoughts I suppressed it. And so wishing vnto this, many diligent, conscionable and ingenious Readers and Appliers, and to them, God's blessing and the fruit intended, I take my leaue. From *Elbing* in *Prussia*.

"Your brother in the flesh, in the Lord,
and in the worke of the Ministery.
"NATH: WARD."[1]

[1] Iethro's *Iustice of Peace*, ed. 1618, pp. 71–2.

To the same work he prefixed a dedication which we reprint below. This and the preceding extract, are, we presume, the earliest specimens of his literary style extant:

"To the Right Honovrable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England, &c.

"When wee see one goe or doe amisse, though his feet or hands be the next actors and instruments of his errour: yet we say not, Are you lame? but, Haue you no eyes? Can you not see? What euer swerving or stumblings any part of the body politique makes, the blame lights not vpon the Gentry or Comminality, the immediate delinquents, but on the principall lights in *Magistracy* or *Ministery*, which being as Guardians and Tutors of the rest, should either preuent or reforme their aberrations. And herein miserable is the condition of these two opticke peeces, that they are more subiect, and that to more distempers then other inferiour parts: yet heerein more, that being hurt, they are more impatient of cure: not onely of searching acrimonious waters (which yet oft are needeful) but shie of the most soft and lawny touches: but most of all in this, that being once extinct, they leaue a voyd darknesse to the whole body, exposing it to the pits of destruction. As exceeding great on the other hand, is the happines, honor and vse of them, if cleere and single. For this, our Nationall body, it will little boot either to applaud the one, or to bewaile the other. I rather wish and looke about mee for some eye-salue, which may helpe to descry and redresse, if anything bee amisse. And behold heere (right Honourable) a confection promising something thereto. It was prescribed first by *Iethro*, whom *Moses* calls the *eyes of Israel*,

Numb. 10, 31. And newly compounded by an Oculist of whom as I may not, so I need not say anything at all. Next vnder the sacred Fountaine of light (the light of our Israel), I worthily accompt your Lordship most sufficient in law to accept, to make vse, to iudge, to patronize it. The subiect of the booke is the principall obiect of your office, to elect, direct and correct inferiour Magistracy. To which purposes, Nature, Literature and Grace haue inabled you, that if you should faile the world's expectation, they will hardly trust any other in haste. Many in rising haue followed the stirrop, pampered and ietting honour not standing the ground, but once seated, haue done renownedly. But your Lordship had neuer any other graces then your birth and desert; to which hereditary dignity hath so gently tendered itselfe that you haue not let fal your name of religion in getting vp. Therefore now you are in the top of honour, all that know you look you will be exactly honourable. For my part, bounden to your Lordship for a fauour formerly receiued, greater then your Honour knowes of, or I can expresse: I shall leaue *Iethro* to be your Monitor, and myselfe remaine euer an humble suitor to God who hath made you a Iudge of conscience, that hee would make you continue a conscionable Iudge, improouing your place and abilities to the best aduantage belonging to it, the furtherance of your reckoning at the last day.

"Your Honours daily Beadsman.

"NATH: WARD."[1]

[1] Iethro's *Iestice of Peace* (ed. 1618), Epistle Dedicatory.

This epistle must have been written after Sunday, Jan. 4, 1617–18, "for and from" which date, Bacon was appointed lord chancellor, by warrant dated January 15 (Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvii, 55), and before July

What the favor was that Mr. Ward received from Lord Bacon it is difficult to conjecture. It may have been some advantage derived from the writings of the latter, though we presume it was a benefit of a different kind. Bacon represented Ipswich, where Mr. Ward's brother was town-preacher, from 1597 to 1614, having been elected to the last two parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, and the first two of King James. In 1614, he was chosen for the University of Cambridge, and ceased to represent the borough of Ipswich.[1]

Mr. Ward was doubtless absent from England a few years after the epistle to his brother was written, for he states in the *Simple Cobbler*, that he had held Prince Rupert when a child, but apparently old enough to talk, in his arms;[2] and that prince was not born till December 17, 1619.[3]

If he made but one visit to the continent, he probably remained there till sometime between the years 1620 and 1624. His visit to Archbishop Usher, which will subsequently be noticed, could not have been earlier than 1624 nor later than 1626. His son-in-law

11, 1618, when he was created Baron Verulam; or, at least, before Mr. Ward heard of the chancellor's elevation to the peerage.

The postscript and dedication are both reprinted in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVII, pp. 365–7, from the 1627 edition of the above work.

[1] Clarke's *Ipswich*, pp. 434 and 447.

[2] *Simple Cobler*, 1st, 2d and 3d eds., p. 61; 4th ed., 64.

[3] Lodge's *Portraits* (Bohn's ed.), vol. VI, p. 57; England's *Worthies*, by William Winstanley (London, 1684), p. 649. The latter writer prints an extract from a letter, written less than a year after the prince's birth, by one who had held him in his arms, giving an earlier date for his birth, namely, December 16. In Rosse's *Index of Dates*, the date given is December 21.' Some verses on the prince's shoes, written by the person quoted by Winstanley, will be found in Appendix VI. They resemble Ward's own style of writing.

states that "a neare friend," whom we strongly suspect to have been the subject of this memoir,[1] came home by the way of Holland, and was in that country while Rev. Henry Ainsworth of Amsterdam, was living. Mr. Ainsworth died at the close of 1622 or early in 1623. The statement was published in 1652, probably less than a year before Mr. Ward died, and is as follows:

"A neare friend of mine (yet living), a Divine well known, travelling into *Germany*, coming home, in *Holland*, he went to hear *Mr. Ainsworth*, who preached a very strong sermon (the person was able to judge). While Mr. Ainsworth was preaching, my friend observed the carriage of his members, it was, he thought, not becoming the Ordinance (I will not write all he told me, lest I should be thought to write out of malice), very dull and dead that was the fairest; when *Mr. Ainsworth* had done, they now were to prophesie; my friend said he observed, that those, who sate so dully and unreverently, while their Pastor was preaching very excellently, now their time came to prophesie, rose up, and were so perke and lively, that he could not but note their carriage."[2]

The date of Mr. Ward's leaving England is not even as definitely established as that of his return. The length of his absence abroad, when it commenced, and when it ended, are therefore matters of uncertainty, though it is possible that they may yet be determined. Enough is known, however, to be sure that some of the years spent by him on the continent, were years of

[1] An anecdote which Mr. Firmin relates in his reply to Mr. Cawdrey (p. 12), of "a neare friend of mine," he gives in a later book, the *Real Christian* (p. 229), of "my Father Ward."

[2] Firmin's *Separation Examined*, p. 86.

stirring interest, both in a religious and a political point of view, to the countries he visited, and afforded good opportunities of studying human life and character in its various phases.

CHAPTER III.

Rectorship at Stondon Massey.

The first place in England at which Mr. Ward is known with certainty to have been settled, is Stondon Massey, in Essex, twenty-four miles northeast from

STONDON MASSEY CHURCH, ESSEX.

London. Mather gives the impression that he settled here soon after his return from his travels.[1] Newcourt prints his name in the list of rectors of this parish, but without the date of his institution or the name of the patron who presented him to the living.[2] The omission may be owing to the fact, which Newcourt states

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap, xxxi, sec. 1.
[2] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 545.

in his preface, that no registry of Rev. George Monteine or Mountaigne, D.D., who was bishop of London, from July 20, 1621, till his translation in the latter part of 1627, is to be found.[1] His institution was probably between the death of Bishop King, March 30, 1621, and the translation of Bishop Laud to London, July 15, 1628. It must have been before November 10, 1629, as a petition sent to Laud at that date in behalf of Rev. Thomas Hooker, is signed by him as "rector of Stondon Mercy."[2] The records of the Massachusetts Company also show he resided there November 25, 1629,[3] about a fortnight later. The latest date at which we have evidence that his predecessor, Rev. John Nobbs, was the incumbent in September 20, 1618.[4]

The patron of the living was Sir Nathaniel Rich,[5] an associate in colonial enterprises of his namesakes, the Earls of Warwick and Holland, and of the celebrated John Pym, and other political characters. Sir

[1] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. I, preface, p. vii.

[2] Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 158.

[3] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 63.

[4] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 544.

[5] Ibid., p. 545.

The Rich family of Stondon, are said to have been descended from Richard Rich, sheriff of London, in 1441, through his eldest son, John. A younger son was ancestor of Robert, Earl of Warwick, father of Robert and Henry Rich, Earls of Warwick and Holland. See Morant's and Wright's *Histories of Essex;* Collins's *Peerage* (ed. 1741), vol. II, p. 185.

The most plausible conjecture concerning the pedigree of Sir Nathaniel Rich, that we can form, is, that he was a son of Edward Rich, who died 1599, and a brother of Robert, the father of Col. Nathaniel Rich, a prominent parliamentary officer in the civil war. An abstract of the will of Sir Nathaniel Rich, made by Mr. Chester, is printed in the *Historical Magazine*, for April, 1867, p. 207. A query in relation to him in the London *Notes and Queries*, March 30, 1867, 3d series, vol. XI, 256–7, had received no satisfactory answer when this page was printed.

Nathaniel, who seems to have been of Puritan tendencies, was probably the patriot member of the third parliament of King James I, mentioned by Hume,[1] as well as the person of whom Rev. George Gerrard writes to the famous Earl of Strafford, that he and Mr. Pym had influenced Sir Henry Vane to join the Puritan colonists of New England.[2] There can be little doubt that he was the friend of Mr. Ward, and protected him from the rigor of the prelates as long as his influence could shield him. May we not be allowed to imagine that Mr. Ward had met at Sir Nathaniel's manor house in Stondon, the patriot friends of that knight, and had consulted with characters whose names are now embalmed in English history, upon the perilous times in which they were living?

The parish of Stondon Massey is situated on a stony or gravelly hill, which is significantly expressed by the name Stondon. The addition, Massey or Marci, is from the family of Mark or Marks, its ancient possessors. The church, of which St. Peter and St. Paul are the patron saints, has a wooden spire and three bells.[3] Two inscriptions on tombstones there, which bear date about the time of Mr. Ward's birth, and must have often been read by him, are printed in Wright's *History of Essex*.[4] That on Rainford Kellingworth, is of more than ordinary merit.

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[1] *History of England*, chap. xlviii.

[2] "I hear that Sir Nathaniel Rich and Mr. Pym have done him much hurt in their persuasions that way." Strafford's *Letters*, vol. I, p. 463; quoted in Forster's *Life of Vane*, in vol. IV of the *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen* (Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*), subsequently reprinted under the title of *The Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England*.

[3] Wright's *Essex*, vol. II, p. 423.

[4] Ibid., p. 425.

The registers of this parish are of comparatively recent date, going back no farther than the early part of the last century, consequently no information about the incumbency of Mr. Ward can be obtained from that source.[1]

Brook states that before Rev. Mr. Ward's settlement at Stondon Massey, he was preacher at St. James's, Duke's Place, London, and gives Newcourt's *Repertorium* for authority.[2] On referring to that work we find a Nathaniel Ward to have been preacher of St. James's, between June 8, 1626, and February 14, 1627–8;[3] but he is styled, A.B., whereas the rector of Stondon, according to the best authorities, received a higher degree more than twenty years before.[4] It is not impossible, however, but that there may be an error in relation to the degree, and that our Nathaniel Ward

[1] This information has been kindly furnished us, in a letter, dated, "Stondon Massey, Brentwood, April 21st, 1865," by Rev. E. J. Reeve, the present rector of the parish, who has manifested much interest in the history of his predecessor.

The English census of 1861 returns for this parish 1,120 acres of land, 50 houses and 273 inhabitants, being 154 to a square mile.

[2] *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. III. p. 182.

[3] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. I, p. 917.

[4] There was certainly one other clergyman by this name in this diocese, during the reign of Charles I, and possibly, two. Nathaniel Ward, A.M., was instituted as rector of Hadleigh, in Essex, June 7, 1639 (Newcourt, II, 320); but was succeeded the same month, by William Wells, A.M. The next winter, January 8, 1639–40, a Nathaniel Ward, A.M., but whether the same or another person, we do not know, was inducted rector of Hawkwell, in Essex (ibid., p. 291), which place is a few miles distant from Hadleigh. He resigned this living, and was succeeded, December 7, 1643, by Thomas Oresby, A.M. Both livings were the gift of Robert, Earl of Warwick.

The predecessor of Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Hadleigh, in that rectory, was Rev. John Ward, A.M., son of our Nathaniel; and possibly, he, himself, may have been Nathaniel, son of Rev. Samuel Ward of Ipswich, and a cousin of John, his predecessor. See Appendix I.

may have been the preacher in Duke's Place. Gorton, in his *Simplicities Defence*, asserts that the subject of this memoir had been a "lecturer" in London; but he places him at St. Michael's in Cornhill.[1] Rev. Mr. Ward, himself, while denying other statements made by Gorton, does not deny this.[2] It is possible that he may have preached at both churches.

He interested himself in the great Puritan emigration to New England, in 1630, under the Massachusetts Company; and a letter is published, written by him to Gov. Winthrop, January 16, 1629–30, in which he tells him he purposes to visit him at London, the next week, and desires to have passage reserved for two families from his neighborhood.[3]

At Stondon, he felt the iron hand of William Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, but then bishop of his diocese. The following letter[4] to his friend Rev. John Cotton,[5] which Hutchinson has preserved shows his spirit under these trials:

"Salutem in Xto nostro.

"Reverend and dear friend,

"I was yesterday convented before the bishop, I mean to his court, and am adjourned to the next term. I see such giants turn their backs, that I dare not trust my

[1] *Simplicities Defence*, p. 53.

Mr. Ward's name is not mentioned by Newcourt in connection with St. Michael's church; but there is apparently a break in the records about this time.

[2] *Hypocrasie Vnmasked*, pp. 76–7.

[3] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, p. 23.

[4] *History of Massachusetts*, vol. I; 1st and 2d eds., pp. 120–1; 3d ed., p. 118.

[5] *A Life of Rev. John Cotton*, by Rev. John Norton, his successor, as teacher of the First Church at Boston, Mass., was published in

own weak heart. I expect measure hard enough and must furnish apace with proportionable armour. I lacke a friend to help buckle it on. I know none but Christ himself in all our coast fitt to help me, and my acquaintance with him is hardly enough to hope for that assistance my weak spirit will want, and the assaults of tentation call for. I pray therefore forget me not and believe for me also if there be such a piece of neighbourhood among Christians. And so blessing God with my whole heart for my knowledge of you and immerited interest in you, and thanking you entirely for that faithful love I have found from you in many expressions of the best nature, I commit you to the unchangeable love of God our Father in his son Jesus Christ, in whom I hope to rest for ever.

"Your's in all truth of heart

"Nath[l]. Warde.

"Stondon Mercy, Dec. 13, 1631."

The place at which Mr. Ward was convented before

1658. A memoir by his grandson, Rev. Cotton Mather, appeared in *Johannes in Eremo*, published in 1695; which book contains the lives of John Cotton, John Norton, John Wilson, John Davenport and Thomas Hooker, and was afterwards reprinted in the *Magnalia*. There is also a life by Rev. Samuel Whiting in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*, pp. 242–9; and the initial volume of the *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England*, is a memoir of him by the late Rev. Alexander W. McClure, D.D. Biographical Sketches of Cotton will be found in Clark's *Lives*, appended to his *Martyrology*, pp. 215–29; Eliot's and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Cotton; Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol I, pp. 25–30; Thompson's *History of Boston*, (Eng). pp. 412–24; *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 133–48; and Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 151–60. A tabular pedigree of his descendants by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., himself a descendant, is published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. I, pp. 164–6. Mr. Thornton has been invited by the Prince Society, to prepare a new edition of Norton's *Life of Cotton*.

Bishop Laud, was, we presume, Braintree, as Rev. Henry Jacie,[1] in a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., written January 9, 1631–2, about four weeks after the date of Mr. Ward's letter to Cotton, gives an account of a recent visit of the bishop to Essex, and of the examination of a number of clergymen at Keldon,[2] or Kelvedon and Braintree, at the latter of which places, Mr. Ward was examined. "The plague," writes Mr. Jacie, "having been lately at Colchester; the bishop's visit was *propria persona* at Keldon, where with much gravity and severity, he inveighed against the pride in the ministry, that they must have their plush and satin, and their silk cassocks and their bandstrings and knops; if every knot had a bell at it, it would be a godly show; saying if any would inform him of abuses in the ministry, by drinking, &c., he would severely censure them. Mr. Cook being there commanded to attend him in his chamber, got a black riband to his ruff, which he so played upon, O what a show it would make if it were of carnation or purple, &c. He was very pleasant thus, sometimes. By both which he

[1] Of Rev. Henry Jacie or Jessey, a Puritan writer of some note, a biographical sketch will be found in Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. I, pp. 108–13.

[2] There are two parishes in Essex by the name of Kelvedon, or as the name was often written, Keldon, viz: one in the archdeaconry of Colchester, and the other in the archdeaconry of Essex. (See Newcourt's *Repertorium*, II, 350–1). In Adams's *Index Villaris* (1680), the former is spelled Kelvedon, and the latter, Kelendon. Both are now spelled, Kelvedon.

We have seen a copy of "A Sermon Preached at the Second Triennial Visitation of the Right Honovrable and Right Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Bishop of London, holden at Kelenden in Essex, September 3, 1631. By Nehemiah Rogers, Pastor of Messing in Essex." London, 1632. We presume this is the same visitation as that which Mr. Jacie writes about, though the date is rather early.

drew the most people to admire him and applaud his proceedings." [1] It would seem from Bishop Laud's remarks, that the Puritan clergy, with whom he had to deal, were not averse to elegant apparel. Laud, we presume, objected to the dress as unclerical. Bancroft, when archbishop, threatened to lay a Puritan minister "by the heels," for appearing before him with "a little black edging on his cuffs." [2]

At Keldon the bishop excommunicated Mr. Weld,[3] suspended Mr. Rogers,[4] ordered Mr. Shepard [5] to leave

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXI, p. 236.

[2] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, p. 262.

[3] Rev. Thomas Welde, vicar of Terling in Essex.

The next March he sailed for New England, and was settled at Roxbury, but returned to England in 1641, and became the minister at Gateshead in Durham. Those who wish to learn his connection with the famous "Short Story" which goes by his name, are referred to the *Historical Magazine*, vol. I, pp. 321–4; and vol. II, pp. 22–3; and to Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, art. Weld. Biographical sketches of Mr. Welde will be found in Allen's and Eliot's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Weld; Sprague's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 24–5; Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 511; and Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. I, p. 492.

[4] Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, lecturer at Bocking in Essex. In less than a year he was settled at Assington in Suffolk, in the diocese of Norwich.

[5] Rev. Thomas Shepard, lecturer of Earl's Colne in Essex. He was afterwards chaplain in the family of Sir Richard Darly of Buttercrambe, co. York. In 1635, he came to New England, and was settled at Cambridge. He left an autobiography, the original manuscript of which is said to be still in the possession of the Shepard Congregational Church, Cambridge. It was first printed in a small 18mo, at Boston, in 1832, under the superintendence of Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., with *Additional Notices of his Life and Character*. A large portion of it is printed in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, Boston, 1846. A memoir by the late Rev. John A. Albro, D D., forms the fourth volume of the *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England*. Biographical sketches are prefixed to the edition of his works in 3 volumes, 1853, and to the 1657 edition of his *Subjection to Christ*. Sketches may also be found in Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, part II, chap. V;

the diocese, and refused to admit Mr. Bridge as lecturer of Colchester, which the people desired. Thence the bishop is said to have gone to Braintree, where Mr. Wharton,[1] Mr. Marshall,[2] Mr. Bruer, Mr. Car, Mr. Ward and others were called before him and received admonition. The following is Mr. Jacie's account of the examination of the subject of this memoir: "Mr. Nat. Ward being called whose silencing was expected, and charged with rejecting the ceremonies and common prayer, he answered (as 'tis said), There is one thing I confess, I stick at — how I may say for any man that die, *in sure and certain hope*,[3] or that *we with our brother*, &c.[4] Upon this the bishop

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Sprague's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 59–68; Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 103–7; Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. I, pp. 42–3; and Eliot's and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Shepard.

[1] Probably Samuel Wharton, vicar of Felstead, in Essex. See Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 154.

[2] Probably Rev. Stephen Marshall of Wethersfield, in Essex.

[3] This expression occurs in the Episcopal burial service: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, etc., in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life." The Presbyterian divines of the commission, appointed March 25, 1661, by Charles II, for the review and alteration of the Book of Common Prayer, etc., make the following exception to the above passage: "These words cannot in truth be said of persons living and dying in open and notorious sins."—*Grand Debate between the most Reverend Bishops and the Presbyterian Divines* (London, 1661), p. 27.

The expression was early objected to by the Puritans (see Brook's *Puritans*, vol. I, p. 432); and it has still opponents among the low churchmen. Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, in an address to the Boston Church, Oct. 2, 1638, names "their dead service" among what he considered the corruptions of the English Church of his day.—*Savage's Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st edition, p. 278; 2d edition, p. 335.

[4] These words are from the first prayer in the burial service: "We give thee thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the misery of this sinful world, that we with this our

to resolve him, made a large explication, and so he escaped."[1]

Rev. Thomas Shepard, in his autobiography, gives an account of his own appearance before the bishop at Keldon,[2] and of being ordered to depart the place; but he says nothing of a court having been subsequently held at Braintree as Mr. Jacie asserts, though he mentions one two days after at Dunmow. "The bishop," says Mr. Shepard, "having thus charged me to depart, and being two dayes after to visit at Dunmow in Essex, Mr. Weld, Mr. Daniel Rogers, Mr. Ward, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wharton consulted together whether it was best to let such a swine to root up God's plants in Essex, and not to give him some check, whereupon it was agreed upon privately at Braintry, that some should speake to him and give him a check."[3]

The treatment of the Puritan ministers by Laud was not always as plausible and facetious as that described by Mr. Jacie. It was often harsh and overbearing. Mr. Shepard, writing of his appearance before the bishop, December 16, 1630, relates, that Laud while speaking to him, "looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted by an agne fit." This, Mr. Shepard attributed to "his extreme malice and secret venome."[4]

We are told by Brook, that Mr. Ward "was often

brother and all others departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss." To this the Presbyterian divines make the exception: "These words may harden the wicked and are inconsistent with the largest charity."— *Grand Debate*, p. 28.

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXI, p. 238.

[2] Printed *Reldon*, but evidently a mistake.

[3] *Autobiography of Thomas Shepard*, p. 34.

[4] Ibid., p. 78; *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. VII, p. 43.

convened before this intolerant prelate for nonconformity; and after frequent attendance for refusing to subscribe according to the canons, he was excommunicated and deprived of his ministry."[1] Rev. Mr. Davids, in his *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, furnishes the following extract from Laud's account of his province for 1633: "Having heretofore after long patience and often conference proceeded against Nathaniel Ward, parson of Stondon in Essex, to excommunication and deprivation for refusing to subscribe to the articles established by the canon of the church (of which I certified last year), I have now left him under the sentence of excommunication."[2]

Firmin repeats an answer of Bishop Laud, to his father-in-law, when he silenced him: "My Father pleaded that text of *Paul*, He would not offend his weak brother. To that speech of *Paul*, Bishop *Laud* answered, *Yea, Paul said so when he was alone, but do you think Paul would have said so, if he had been in a Convocation?* A rare answer, worthy of a Bishop."[3]

Mr. Ward's successor was Anthony Sawbridge, S. T. B., who was instituted August 8, 1633.[4] It is probable that he was the clergyman of that name who had been

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[1] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, p. 182, quoting Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. I, p. 535, as authority.

[2] *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 464.

[3] *Presbyterial Ordination Vindicated*, p. 38.

[4] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 545. Rev. Mr. Davids, of Colchester, writes to us that he finds in a manuscript book, *Harl.*, 6,244, entitled, *Payments and Orders of the Standing Committee of Essex, Anno* 1649, that this Anthony Sawbridge was implicated in the royalist insurrection of 1648, which resulted in the siege of Colchester and was before the committee, but got off. In his *Annals*, p. 277, Mr. Davids cites the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*, 459, to show that Mr. Sawbridge was at Stondon in 1650.

rector of Hadleigh in the same county, and who three months later, November, 16, 1633,[1] was succeeded by Mr. Ward's eldest son, John. As the patrons of the two livings were relatives and intimate friends, perhaps an exchange had been arranged before Mr. Sawbridge's presentation to Stondon.

Having been suspended from his ministry in England, his mind naturally turned for a refuge to Massachusetts, in the colonization of which he had early interested himself. His eldest son, as before stated, had been provided for in England, being settled, in the autumn of 1633, as rector of Hadleigh, a living of which the Earl of Warwick was the patron.

The next year, Mr. Ward embarked for our shores. Before we follow him to his new home, we will introduce two anecdotes of his residence in Essex, which are preserved by his son-in-law. The first is this:

"I remember my Father-in-law told me that Bishop *Usher*, having once an Ague, and being in *Essex* when Mr. *Thomas Hooker* preached, it so fell out that my Father-in-law went to visit him a little before his fit should come, they both lying on the bed discoursing, *I wish*, said the Bishop, *that Mr.* Hooker *were here to preach the Law home to my Conscience:* that fit they talked away; he missed it. By this we may read the Spirit of that highly learned and pious Bishop."[2]

This interview took place, there is little doubt, during Usher's long visit to England, from 1624 to 1626. During that visit, this humble and pious prelate officiated for a time at the little village of Wicken in Essex, where, at the request of some of the ministers

[1] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 291.

[2] *Real Christian*, by Giles Firmin, p. 51; Boston ed., p. 52.

of that county who could not hear him on Sunday, he preached on week days, and often beyond his strength, so that he fell into a quartan ague which held him three-quarters of a year.[1] While preaching at Wicken, it is probable that he was the guest of Matthew Bradbury, who is supposed to have been a near relative of Thomas Bradbury, an early settler of Salisbury in New England;[2] for a letter dated September 9, 1624, is addressed to him at Wicken Hall,[3] the seat of that gentleman.[4] Here, it is not unlikely that Mr. Ward called upon his friend to condole with him upon his affliction, and to take counsel with him upon the best means of advancing the cause of religion. This interview was probably before November, 1625, for then, having recovered from his ague, the archbishop[5] engaged in his famous disputation with Rookwood, *alias* Beaumont, the Catholic chaplain of Lord Mordaunt.[6]

The Mr. Thomas Hooker referred to, was Mr. Hooker, lecturer of Chelmsford in Essex, who came to

[1] *England's Worthies*, by William Winstanley (1684), p. 54.

[2] The facts which make this probable have been communicated to us by John M. Bradbury, Esq., of Boston, but are too voluminous for insertion.

[3] Letters appended to Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 312.

[4] *East Anglian*, July, 1862, vol. i, p. 229.

[5] He was advanced to the primacy of Ireland, March, 1624–5, during his stay in England.

[6] The date of the disputation is obtained from Usher's own memorandum (Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 27). Winstanley says it took place immediately after his recovery from the ague (*English Worthies*, p. 54). His sickness is noticed in the letters appended to Parr's life of him. One to him, written January 17, 1624–5, mentions his recent recovery (p. 315); but this may not have been the ague, or he may have had a relapse, for his sickness is referred to in several letters later in the year 1625, and he is again congratulated, September 14, 1625, on his recovery, by the celebrated John Selden (p. 338).

New England in 1633, in the same vessel with Rev. John Cotton[1] before mentioned. The date of his appointment to the lecturership at Chelmsford, was 1625 or 1626;[2] but he may have preached in Essex before that appointment was received.[3] The other anecdote also relates to him:

"When Mr. *Hooker* preached those Sermons about the Soul's preparation for Christ and Humiliation,[4] my Father-in-law, Mr. *Nath. Ward*, told him: Mr. Hooker *you make us good Christians before men are in Christ as ever they are after;* and wished, *would I were but as good a Christian now, as you make men while they are but preparing for Christ.* But he told him the reason why he thought God let him thus preach, because he saw he had not long to stand, and should do his work all at once."[5]

There are some circumstances that make us think that another anecdote told by Firmin of Mr. Hooker, may also relate to Mr. Ward. "A neer friend of mine in *New England*," says he, "living divers miles from

[1] These two ministers, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, with Mr. Ward, are mentioned by Capt. Israel Stoughton of Dorchester, in 1635, as favoring him in his difficulties with Winthrop and the general court. See *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1860–2, p. 140.

[2] Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 149.

[3] Biographical Sketches of Mr. Hooker will be found in Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, part I, Appendix; Sprague's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 30–7; Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, pp. 149–62; Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 64–70; the 1743 edition of his own *Poor Doubting Christian drawn to Christ;* and Eliot and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Hooker. A memoir of him by Edward W. Hooker was published at Boston in 1849, in 12mo; being the sixth and concluding volume of the *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England*.

[4] Mr. Hooker's book, *The Unbeliever Preparing for Christ*, was published in 1638; *The Soul's Effectual Calling to Christ* in 1638; and *The Soul's Humiliation*, in 1640.

[5] Firmin's *Real Christian*, p. 19.

Mr. *Hooker* had occasion to be in his Towne on the Sabbath: my friend being a Minister (I cannot tell whether at that time in office or no to the Church, in the Towne where he lived), Mr. *Hooker* got him to preach in the forenoone in his Church; my friend when he had done preaching (being sad and oppressed in his spirits) went downe out of the deske, and would not have stayed the Sacrament; but Mr. *Hoo:* steps after him, and claps hold on his shoulder, and pulled him back againe, and made him stay the Sacrament: my friend told me it was the best Sacrament that ever he enjoyed."[1] Firmin used the same language, "a neare friend of mine," in the same work, in speaking of his father-in-law, Mr. Ward.[2]

The same writer repeats three of Mr. Ward's sayings. The first is upon the question, "whether the Fraternity be the first subject of the Keys." We are told that "Mr. Nath. Ward used to say, 'They were the first Subject of the *Key-Clog*, not of the Keys.'" To this Firmin adds, "So they have proved in many Churches, I am sure."[3]

The other two sayings relate to Mr. Ward's brethren in the ministry. One is concerning a divine whom this writer, who knew him well, calls, "a man of great parts, great grace and great infirmities," namely, Rev. Daniel Rogers[4] of Wethersfield. "My Father Ward," says Firmin, "would often say of him, 'My Brother *Rogers* hath grace enough for two men, and not half enough for

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[1] *Sober reply to Mr. Cawdrey* (1653), pp. 27–8.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] *Weighty Questions Discussed*, p. 6.

[4] Biographical notices of Rev. Daniel Rogers will be found in Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 149–51, and the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. V, p. 119.

himself.'"[1] The other is about Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, Mass., as follows: "I remember my Father *Ward* made this observation upon him to me, 'When Mr. *Shepherd* comes to deal with Hypocrites, he cuts so desperately that we know not how to bear him, made them all afraid that they were all Hypocrites; when he came to deal with a tender humble Soul, he gives comfort so largely that we are afraid to take it.'"[2]

CHAPTER IV.

Pastorate at Ipswich.

In the year 1634, Mr. Ward came to New England.[3] We are told that he left his native land in April, and arrived here in June;[4] but, as yet, we have found no early authority for this statement. The first time we meet with it is in an article in the *Monthly Anthology* for May, 1809, written by Joseph G. Cogswell, LL.D., lately librarian of the Astor Library, New York.[5]

[1] Firmin's *Real Christian*; preface to the *Christian Reader*. See also *Weighty Questions Discussed*, preface.

[2] *Real Christian*, p. 215; Boston edition, p. 216.

[3] *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 66; Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 255; and Mather's *Magnalia*, 1st ed., book iii, p. 167; 3d ed., vol. i, p. 522.

[4] *Monthly Anthology*, vol. vi, pp. 342; Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*, art. Ward.

[5] Dr. Cogswell writes to us from New York, July 25, 1865: "My article upon him [Nathaniel Ward,] in the *Anthology*, was written in haste, when I was about to embark for Europe, and I have preserved none of the memoranda which I made for it. I cannot doubt that I had good authority for the statement about the month of his embarkation, although it is entirely gone from me. I do not think that the article is altogether reliable, for it was written too hastily to give time to verify the authorities used."

Winthrop informs us that in June of that year, fourteen great ships arrived at Boston and Salem.[1] Two of these, apparently, were the Francis and the Elizabeth, of Ipswich in Suffolk, where Mr. Ward's brother was town preacher, which vessels left England in April,[2] the month in which Dr. Cogswell states Mr. Ward sailed for our shores. It is not probable, however, that he came in either of these; for the masters of both ships, on their return to England, gave in lists of the passengers who accompanied them to New England, which lists are preserved in the British state paper office, and have been several times printed.[3] Though this was before the proclamation prohibiting ministers from transporting themselves to the plantations without the approbation of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London,[4] yet as a clergyman under ecclesiastical censure, Mr. Ward may have found difficulty in leaving England, and the omission of his name from the lists would not be surprising, even if he came in one of the vessels. He has, however, given us the name of a fellow passenger, Robert Potter,[5] who probably had no such reason for departing secretly. If Mr. Ward came in either of the ships, Mr. Potter's name would be likely to be found in one of the lists; but it is not.

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 134; 2d ed., p. 160.

[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, p. 138; vol. XIV, pp. 329–32; Drake's *Founders of New England*, pp. 51–4.

[3] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXX, pp. 140–4; Drake's *Founders*, pp. 51–4; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XIV, pp. 329–32.

[4] Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. II, p. 410.

[5] *Hypocrasie Unmasked*, p. 76.

It had been intended that the Ipswich vessels should sail in March; but they were stayed by warrant the 21st of February,[1] and though their release was ordered by the council Feb. 28th,[2] they did not proceed on their voyage till April.[3] Several other ships, that were lying in the Thames were stayed by warrant the same month, and were released by the same order as the Ipswich vessels.[4] In one of these Mr. Ward may have come.[5]

There was a similar detention of vessels four years later. In the spring of 1638, eight vessels were lying in the river Thames filled with passengers for New England; and an order of council was passed March 30, for staying them and "putting on land of all the passengers and provisions intended for that voyage."[6] Liberty was granted to them, however, by the council, eleven days later, April 10, 1638, to proceed on their voyage.[7] In these ships, it has been said John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, John Pym, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Sir Matthew Boynton and Sir William Constable, had embarked when the warrant for staying them was issued. This story was doubted in Hutchinson's

[1] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, p. 174. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, pp. 136–7.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, p. 138; vol. XIV, pp. 329–32; Drake's *Founders of New England*, pp. 51–4.

[4] *Calendar of British State Papers, ubi supra*; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, p. 138.

[5] Their names were: "The Clement and John, the Reformation, the True Love, the Elizabeth Bonadventure, the Sea Flower, the Mary and John, the Planter, the Elizabeth and Dorcas, the Hercules and the Neptune."—*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, p. 137; vol. IX, p. 265; Drake's *Founders of New England*, p. 69.

[6] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, p. 138.

[7] Ibid., p. 139.

time,[1] but was credited by Hume,[2] and afterwards was generally received as true by historical writers, till the publication in 1833, of Miss Aiken's *Memoirs of the Court of Charles I*, since which time it has as generally been rejected.[3]

There is satisfactory evidence that Mr. Ward was at Ipswich, in December, 1634,[4] and that he was then settled there as a minister.[5] The manner in which he is mentioned by Winthrop, seems to indicate that he had been there some time. In March, 1633, the year before he arrived in this country, a settlement was made at Agawam.[6] Wood, who left New England the following August, describes this as "one of the most spatious places for a plantation; being neare the sea, it aboundeth with fish, and flesh of fowles and beasts, great Meads and Marshes and plaine plowing grounds, many good rivers and harbours, and no rattle snakes." He adds there were "as yet scarce any inhabitants."[7]

At Mr. Ward's coming, he found Rev. Thos. Parker,[8]

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[1] *History of Massachusetts*, vol. I, 1st and 2d eds., p. 42; 3 ed., p. 44.

[2] *History of England*, chap. lii.

[3] The early statements relative to the reported embarkation of Cromwell for this country have been collected in an article published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XX, pp. 113–21. This article was reprinted in a pamphlet of 11 pages.

[4] Letter of John Winthrop to his son John Winthrop, Jr., at London, dated Dec. 12, 1634, printed in Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, Appendix A, 55.

[5] Letter of James Cudworth of Scituate, a brother of the famous writer, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, to the Rev. John Stoughton, D. D., of London, dated Dec., 1634, printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XIV, pp. 101–4.

[6] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 101; 2d ed., p. 120.

[7] *New England's Prospect*, part I, chap. X, Prince Society's ed., pp. 48–9.

[8] Rev. Thomas Parker was the only son of Rev. Robert Parker, a Puritan writer of some celebrity at that time, author of *De Politia*

a pupil[1] of his friend, Archbishop Usher, preaching at Agawam,[2] and he himself was invited to settle there as a minister. He accepted the invitation and commenced officiating the same year.[3] The church at this place was the ninth formed in the Massachusetts colony,[4] and the tenth then in existence in New England.[5] Mr. Ward was settled as pastor, and Mr. Parker as teacher.[6]

In August, 1634, the plantation at Agawam received the name of Ipswich,[7] "in acknowledgment" Winthrop tells us "of the great honor and kindness done to our people who took shipping there."[8] The settlers of this town were men of good rank and quality, many of them having had a considerable revenue from lands in England before they emigrated.[9] The winter after his arrival, Mr. Ward resided in the house of John

Ecclesiastica and other works, of whom Brook gives a sketch in his *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. II, pp. 237–40; and Mr. Davids in his *Annals*, pp. 112–13. Biographical sketches of Rev. Thomas Parker, will be found in Coffin's *Newbury*, pp. 374–5; Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. XXV; Eliot's and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Parker; Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. I, pp. 41–3; and Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 469–70. None of these writers give the precise date of his birth. He was born Whitsunday, June 8, 1595. See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VI, p. 352; vol. VII, p. 206. See also *Historical Magazine*, vol. XII, p. 144.

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. XXV, sect. 3; Coffin's *Newbury*, p. 374; and Allen's and Eliot's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Parker.

[2] Felt's *History of Ipswich, Mass.*, p. 216; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 133; 2d ed., p. 158.

[3] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XIV, p. 103.

[4] *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 66.

[5] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ubi supra.*

[6] Ibid.

[7] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 123.

[8] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 137; 2d ed., p. 164. See also Hubbard's *New England*, p. 155.

[9] *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 66.

Winthrop, Jr., afterwards governor of Connecticut, who was then in England. There was some relationship between these two families, as John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts, father of the above Mr. Winthrop, applies the term cousin to both Mr. Ward and his son-in-law Firmin.[1] The precise relationship we have not, however, been able to ascertain. The first wife of John Winthrop, senior, was Mary Forth;[2] and a cousin-german of her father, married ..... Warde of Mendham in Suffolk.[3] The second wife of the first Gov. Winthrop was Margaret Clopton;[4] and according to Rev. Matthias Candler, a cousin-german of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, namely, Capt. Samuel Warde of Lidgate, married a daughter of ..... Clopton, Gent.[5] The relationship was probably through one or both of these marriages.

The following spring Mr. Parker removed from Ipswich to a settlement, at the mouth of the Merrimac, which received the name of Newbury. Here a church was formed, Mr. Parker becoming its pastor and his cousin, Rev. James Noyes, its teacher.[6] After the departure of his first colleague, Mr. Ward had the assistance of Rev. Thomas Bracey or Brucy,[7] and of

[1] Gov. Winthrop indorses a letter from Mr. Ward written Dec. 22, 1639, "Cosin Warde." He also indorses a letter Feb. 12, 1639–40, from Giles Firmin, "Cosin Firmin." See *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 27 and 275.

[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVIII, pp. 183–4.

[3] *Brights of Suffolk*, p. 268.

[4] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVIII, pp. 183 and 185.

[5] See Appendix I.

[6] Coffin's *History of Newbury*, pp. 12–14; Felt's *Ipswich*, p. 216.

[7] Felt's *Ipswich*, p. 218; Felt's *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, vol. I, p. 421.

Rev. John Norton.[1] The latter clergyman, who subsequently became the teacher of this church,[2] had arrived in New England in 1635. Landing at Plymouth in the autumn of that year, he continued there all winter, preaching to the people of that town, who invited him to become their pastor; but he declined, "alledging that his spirit could not close with them,"[3] and removed to the more congenial colony of Massachusetts.[4]

The health of Mr. Ward soon became impaired. As early as January 19, 1634–5, he was absent from an important meeting of the ministers of Massachusetts, held at Boston, of which Gov. Winthrop gives

[1] For biographical sketches of Rev. John Norton, see *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England*, vol. II; Felt's *Ipswich*, pp. 224–5; Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. ii; Eliot's and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Norton; Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. I, pp. 54–9; and Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 419–22.

[2] *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 73; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. V, p. 135.

[3] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 175; 2d ed., 209.

[4] The settlers of the Plymouth colony, with whom Mr. Norton's spirit "could not close" were originally Separatists; but those of the Massachusetts colony, while in England, were merely nonconformists. After their removal to this country and the interchange of opinion, the views of both appear to have been modified, so that there were fewer points of difference between them. Each people, however, retained much of its original bias. The difference in the origin of these two communities is very clearly shown in a lecture, entitled, *The Pilgrim Fathers neither Puritans nor Persecutors*, delivered Jan. 18, 1866, before the Friends' Institute of London, by Benjamin Scott, chamberlain of that city (8vo, London, 1866, pp. 39); which lecture is reprinted in the *Historical Magazine* for May, 1867, pp. 261–77. Mr. Scott considers as Mr. Hanbury does (*Memorials*, III, 549), that neither the Separatists nor Independents are to be ranked with the Puritans; but writers generally (including Neal, Brook, and most others who have written upon Puritan history or biography), class them as such. We cannot see that anything will be gained by changing the meaning which long usage has attached to the term, Puritan.

an account in his *Journal*, and he is recorded as the only minister in the colony who did not attend.[1] Other causes, however, besides his health — the distance and the season for instance — may have prevented his attendance. Though the people desired much to retain so able a minister as their pastor, he soon felt compelled to lay down his charge, "that being left to his liberty hee might Preach more seldom."[2] It is said that his church released him in 1636 from his engagement.[3] In that year the Antinomian troubles arose.

On the 25th of October, 1636, during a session of the general court, a private conference of the ministers of the bay with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson[4] and her relative, Rev. John Wheelwright,[5] concerning their

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 154; 2d ed., p. 183.

[2] *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 88.

[3] Pulsifer's ed. of the *Simple Cobbler;* notice of the author, p. iv; Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 113; *Archæologia Americana*, vol. III, p. cxii.

[4] A life of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson by Rev. George E. Ellis of Charlestown will be found in the sixth volume of the second series of Sparks's *American Biography*. Henry B. Dawson, Esq., of Morrisania, N. Y., published in 1856, in a newspaper, a series of articles on the *Life and Times of Anne Hutchinson*, which he intends to reprint in the uniform series of his *Minor Works* (see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVII, p. 87). Hutchinson, in his *History of Massachusetts*, vol. I, chap. i, and vol. II, appendix ii, gives an account of the troubles occasioned by her doctrines. See also Chandler's *Criminal Trials*, vol. I, pp. 1–29.

[5] Biographical notices of Rev. John Wheelwright will be found in Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 472–7; and Eliot's and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Wheelwright. Some original researches relative to him previous to his emigration, by J. L. Chester, Esq., are printed in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XXI, pp. 363–5. His fast day sermon, Jan. 16, 1636, is printed in the *Historical Magazine* for April, 1867, pp. 215–24, and reprinted in pamphlet form. The famous deed to him by four Indian sagamores, 17 May, 1629, is printed in Bel-

opinions, was held at Boston.[1] Mr. Ward was present at this meeting. In the course of the conference, to show the difference between "the witness of the spirit" and "the seal of the spirit," he compared them to "the broad seal and the little seal," a comparison that was afterwards charged upon Rev. Mr. Wheelwright.[2]

In the examination of Mrs. Hutchinson by the general court, held at Newtown since Cambridge, November, 1637, Thomas Dudley, the deputy governor, addressed Mrs. Hutchinson relative to a conversation between her and Mr. Ward:

"For that other thing I mentioned, for the letter of the scripture that it held forth nothing but a covenant of works, and for the latter, that we are in a state of damnation, being under a covenant of works, or to that effect, these two things you also deny. Now the case stands thus. About three quarters of a year ago, I heard of it, and speaking of it there came one to me who is not here, but will affirm it if need be, as he did to me, that he did hear you say in so many words. He set it down under his hand, and I can bring it forth when the court pleases. His name is subscribed to both these things, and upon my peril be

knap's *History of New Hampshire*, vol. I, appendix i, and Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. I, pp. 271–4. Some writers think the deed spurious, and we, ourselves, have doubts as to its genuineness. For arguments and facts, *pro* and *con*, see *Portsmouth Journal*, Nov. 22, 1823; *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, vol. I, pp. 299–304; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, appendix H.; *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VI, p. 385; vol. VIII, p. 90; and vol. IX, p. 208.

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 201; 2d ed., p. 240; Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, vol. I, 1st and 2d eds., p. 56; 3d ed., p. 58.

[2] Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, vol. II, 1st and 2d eds., p. 506; 3d ed., p. 438.

it if I bring you not in the paper and bring the minister (meaning Mr. Ward), to be deposed."

When the deputy governor finished speaking, the governor, Mr. Winthrop, asked Mrs. Hutchinson: "What say you to this, though nothing be directly proved, yet you hear it may be." She replied:

"I acknowledge using the words of the apostle to the Corinthians unto him, that they that were ministers of the letter and not the spirit did preach a covenant of works. Upon his saying there was no such scripture, then I fetched the bible and shewed him this place, II Cor., iii, 6. He said that was the letter of the law. No said I, it is the letter of the gospel."

The governor here interrupted her: "You have spoken this more than once then?" She continued:

"Then upon further discourse about proving a good estate and holding it out by the manifestation of the spirit he did acknowledge that to be the nearest way, but yet, said he, will you not acknowledge that which we hold forth to be a way wherein we may have hope; no truly, if that be a way it is a way to hell." [1]

This examination of Mrs. Hutchinson lasted two days, and resulted as is well known in her banishment from the colony. Nothing more relative to Mr. Ward is found in it.

His successor as pastor of the church at Ipswich was a relative of his step-father.

This clergyman, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers,[2] had arrived

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[1] Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, vol. II, 1st and 2d eds., p. 496–7; 3d ed., p. 432.

[2] For biographical sketches of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. v. pp. 132–7; Felt's *Ipswich*, pp. 219–21; Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xiv, Eliot's

in the colony, in 1636, and had been urged to settle at Dorchester but declined.[1] Having been invited to become the pastor of the Ipswich church, he accepted the invitation, and on the 20th of February, 1637–8, was ordained as pastor.[2] It is said that Rev. Mr. Norton was ordained at the same time as teacher.[3]

CHAPTER V.

The Body of Liberties.

The ill health of Mr. Ward, which prevented him from longer serving as the pastor of a church, was not such as to condemn him to idleness: and an opportunity for usefulness was soon opened to him. At the session of the general court which commenced March 12, 1637–8, the next month after his successor had been ordained at Ipswich, he was appointed on a committee to prepare a code of laws for Massachusetts,[4] and was thus enabled to make his legal knowledge of

and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Rogers; Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. I, pp. 81–9; and Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 238–41.

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, 1st ed., book III, chap. xiv, section 12.

[2] Hubbard's *History of New England*, p. 274; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. V. p. 135; Felt's *Ipswich*, p. 222.

[3] Hubbard's *New England*; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*; and Felt's *Ipswich*, *ubi supra*.

Johnson, in the *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 73, states that Mr. Norton was called to the office of teaching elder of Ipswich, while Mr. Ward was pastor; and some writers place his ordination there in 1636. See Harris's edition of Hubbard's *New England*, p. 274, note.

[4] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 222; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 257; 2d ed., p. 309.

service to the colony. The people had early desired such a code; for so much power had been left with the magistrates, that they considered their liberties unsafe.[1] Before this, three committees had been chosen for the revision of the laws, namely, two composed entirely of members of the court, in March, 1634–5,[2] and May, 1635,[3] and one including elders in May, 1636.[4] These three committees appear to have made little progress, though Rev. John Cotton, teacher of the Boston church, a member of the third committee, is said to have reported to the general court, October 25, 1636, "a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method."[5] Indeed, most of the magistrates, and some of the elders were lukewarm in the matter.[6] Their reasons, are given by Winthrop, as follows:

"One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive that such laws would be fittest for us which should arise *pro re nata*, upon occasions, etc., and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, consuetudines.

"Second. For that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England; and that

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., pp. 322 and 160; 2d ed., pp. 388 and 191.

[2] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 137.

[3] Ibid., p. 147; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 160; 2d ed., p. 191.

[4] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, pp. 174–5.

[5] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 202; 2d ed., p. 240. The records make no mention of this.

[6] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 323; 2d ed., p. 389.

we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage. To make a law that marriages should not be solemnized by ministers is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant, etc."[1]

The present committee also seems to have been dilatory in its actions; for, at the June session, 1639, the marshal was ordered by the general court to give notice to the committee on the body of laws to send to the next court such draft of the laws as they had prepared.[2] The people had probably become impatient. At length the matter was referred — perhaps by the committee or by the magistrates — to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Ward. Each of them framed a "model" which was presented to the general court, November, 1639.[3] These two models were committed to Gov. Winthrop, Deputy Gov. Dudley and some others, to digest into one body, altering, adding and omitting as they saw fit. Copies of the digest were to be made and sent to the several towns for the consideration of the elders and freemen against the next session of the court.[4]

In a letter, written December 22, 1639, to Gov. Winthrop, who was at the head of the above committee, Ward queries, "Whether it will not be of ill consequence to send the Court busines to the common consideration of the freemen." He adds:

"I fear it will too much exauctorate the power of

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 323; 2d ed., p. 389.

[2] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 262.

[3] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 322; 2d ed., p. 388.

[4] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 279; Savage's *Winthrop*, *ubi supra*.

that Court to prostrate matters in that manner. I suspect both Commonwealth and Churches haue discended to lowe already. I see the spirits of the people runne high, and what they gett they hould. They may not be denyed their proper and lawfull liberties; but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferiour sort in that which should be reserued *inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges* ..... There is a necessity that the Covenant, if it be agreed vpon, should be considered and celebrated by the seuerall congregations and towns, and happily the .....[1] but I dare not determyne concerning the latter. I mean of putting it to the suffrage of the people."[2]

Mr. Thomas Lechford, author of *Plain Dealing*,[3] was employed to make the copies;[4] but though he was educated as a lawyer, we have found no intimation

[1] Dr. John Appleton, acting librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, thinks that the word left blank above, is *tenure*. We have examined the manuscript, and agree with him.

[2] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 26–7.

[3] An edition of this work, with an elaborate introduction by J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq., and very thoroughly annotated by him, was published in 1867, by Wiggin & Lunt of Boston, in small 4to, pp. xl and 211.

[4] Lechford's *Plain Dealing*, p. 31; *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, p. 27.

Mr. Trumbull, in a note to his edition of Lechford, p. 72, says:

"Lechford's account book and journal show that he delivered twelve copies of '*the Lawes for the Country*,' in December, 1639: 'Five copies more .... by the direction of our Governor, 11, 8, 1639; seven of them (and the former) had three lawes more added;' 'A coppie of the *Abstract of the Lawes of New England*, dd to the Governor, 11, 15, 1639.' [Was this Mr. Cotton's, printed under the same title in 1641?—T.] 'A coppy of the breviat of the body of Lawes for the Country, 12, 5, 1639;' 'Three coppyes of the said breviat delivered to the Governor, besides the first, 12, 12, 1639:' 'One coppy dd to Mr B[ellingham?—T.]:' 'One coppy .... delivered to Mr. Bellingham wth one copy of the original Institution and Limitation of the Counsell, at 4*s* and 2*s*, 12,

by himself or his contemporaries that he assisted in the compilation. Some of his objections to the ecclesiastical laws, which he presented to the magistrates, March 4, 1639–40, are printed in his book.[1] The article of this digest on the organization of churches, to which Lechford objects, is preserved by him. In the code, as finally adopted by the colony, this article appears to have been divided into several sections and to have been altered in substance, and in the position of its parts as well as in language. Some of the features which Lechford objected to, are omitted.[2] Nothing resembling the article of the digest preserved in *Plain Dealing*, nor its substitute in the *Body of Liberties*, is found in the *Abstract of Laws*, by John Cotton.[3]

17, 1639:' and, near the end of the month (February, 1640), 'Seven coppyes more of the said breviats.' "

On the 22d of December, 1639, Mr. Ward, writing to Winthrop, says: "Yf Mr. Lachford haue writt them out, I would be glad to peruse one of his copies, if I may receiue them."—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, p. 27.

[1] Lechford's *Plain Dealing*, pp. 31–4.

[2] Compare Lechford's *Plain Dealing*, pp. 31–2, with the *Body of Liberties*, art. 95.

[3] This *Abstract* has been several times printed. The first edition was issued at London, 1641, and the second at the same place, 1655. The first edition has been twice reprinted in this country; namely, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. V; and in Force's *Tracts*, vol. III.

The *Abstract* is also printed in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*, pp. 161–79, probably from a manuscript copy, as it differs from both editions of the printed work. Gov. Hutchinson, in the first volume of his *History* (1st and 2d eds., p. 442; 3d ed., p. 390), mentions having seen "the first draught of the laws by Mr. Cotton, ... corrected with Mr. Winthrop's hand." We think it was this manuscript which Gov. Hutchinson printed in his *Collection of Papers*, as on p. 174 of this work, corrections by Mr. Winthrop are referred to, that agree with those specified in the history. Gov. Hutchinson had the use of some of the papers of Rev. John Cotton, which his brother-in-law, Rev. Samuel Mather, a descendant of Cotton, had inherited. (See Drake's

The copies of the digest had been sent to the towns before the May session of the general court in 1640, at which an order was passed inviting the elders and freemen to "ripen their thoughts" upon the propositions.[1]

A year after, in June, 1641, Gov. Bellingham was appointed to peruse all laws, and report to the next court what changes ought to be made;[2] but it would seem, from the order of March, 1643–4,[3] that this did not refer to the fundamental laws, but to other laws of general obligation.

At the following session October, 1641, the governor, (Mr. Bellingham) and Mr. Hawthorne "were desired to speake to Mr. Ward for a coppey of the liberties and of the capitall lawes, to bee transcribed and sent to the severall townes."[4] We presume there was but little delay in obtaining the copy from Mr. Ward, and causing it to be transcribed and sent to the different towns, as final action on the code was taken at the next session of the general court which began on the tenth of December[5] following. "This session," says Winthrop, "continued three weeks and established 100 laws, which were called the *Body of Liberties*. They had been

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ed. of Rev. Increase Mather's *King Philip*, p. xxii); and this manuscript may have been among them.

In the edition of Hutchinson's *Collection*, lately printed for the Prince Society, the editor of the first volume, Mr. Whitmore, has noted the variations between the editions of 1641 and 1655, and Mr. Hutchinson's copy.

[1] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, pp. 292–3.

[2] Ibid., p. 320.

[3] Ibid., vol. II. p. 61.

[4] Ibid., vol. I, p. 340.

[5] Ibid., vol. I, p. 342; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 50; 2d ed., p. 60.

composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward . . . . and had been revised and altered by the court, and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this court, they were revised, amended, and presented, and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and established to be perpetual."[1]

The secretary of the general court appears to have made no record of the adoption of the *Body of Liberties*. Perhaps the court may have ordered the omission. It has been seen that when the matter of a code was first agitated, it was questioned whether some of the laws that were needed might not be construed to be contrary to those of England, and consequently a violation of the charter. Mr. Trumbull has noted the fact that the *Body of Liberties* was framed with the evident design of avoiding this difficulty; for it expressly directs that the "specified rites, freedomes, Immunities, Authorities and priviledges, both Civill and Ecclesiastical are expressed onely under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact form of Laws or Statutes."[2] "The General Court," says Trumbull, "did not *enact* them, but did 'with one consent fully authorize and earnestly entreat all that are and shall be in authority to *consider them as* laws,' and not fail to inflict punishment for every violation of them."[3]

Though the secretary makes no mention of the *Body of Liberties* in his record of the session that adopted it, the following memorandum in the hand-writing of Gov. Winthrop is found appended:

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[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed. p. 55; 2d ed. p. 66.

[2] *Body of Liberties*, lib. 96.

[3] Trumbull's *Lechford*, p. 62.

"At this Court, the bodye of laues formerly sent amonge the Freeman, &c., was voted to stand in force, &c."[1]

It is possible that this memorandum may not have been made till some years later, when, to use Mr. Trumbull's language, "the ascendency of the parliament was established, and Massachusetts was for a time relieved from apprehension of the loss of her charter." Then "the General Court denied, with less reserve, the authority of the laws of England."[2] In 1648, the government of the colony was bold enough to print its laws.[3]

From the statements of Gov. Winthrop, we infer that the "model" which he says was prepared by Mr. Ward and presented to the general court in November, 1639, was the code, that after being twice revised and amended by the court, was adopted in December, 1641. To what extent the "model" of Ward differed from the *Body of Liberties*, we have no means of determining. Even if Mr. Ward's manuscript or a copy of it,[4] should hereafter be discovered, it would not be safe to say how much of the code adopted was his composition, as the order of October, 1641, seems to indicate that the breviat of propositions underwent some revision by him before being submitted to the towns for their judgment, in the fall of that year. Mr. Poole has found on the Woburn records, under the date of December 18, 1640, the preamble to the *Body of Liberties*, with but trifling variations.[5] This was several months

[1] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 346.

[2] Trumbull's *Lechford*, p. 62.

[3] The capital laws were printed in 1642.

[4] A small portion of it is preserved by Lechford.— *Ante*, p. 56.

[5] Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, edited by W. F. Poole, Esq., introduction, p. ci.

after Mr. Ward's model had been sent out to the towns; and the most natural inference is, that the preamble was copied thence on the Woburn records.

As Gov. Winthrop was on most of the committees, and was chairman of the committee of revision in 1639, we see no reason why full credence should not be given to his testimony as to the authorship of the code. His account indicates that the code adopted, was substantially that prepared by Mr. Ward. Messrs. Gray [1] and Phillips,[2] who have written on the subject, besides other authors, assign the credit of the compilation to him.

The Body of Liberties was "the first Code of Laws established in New England." [3] Nineteen copies were ordered to be transcribed and sent to the several towns.[4] None of these copies are known to be in existence; and, for a long time, the code itself was supposed to be lost. But about fifty years ago, a transcript was discovered by Francis C. Gray, LL.D., in the library of the Boston Athenæum, written on paper bound up with a copy of the 1672 edition of the *Colony Laws*. Mr. Gray does not appear, however, to have made his discovery public till 1843, in which year the *Body of Liberties* was printed in the twenty-eighth volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, under the editorial supervision of Mr. Gray himself.

It is evident that this is a copy of the code adopted in 1641, and not a later one, for the three capital laws, passed June, 1642 — which are numbered 10, 11 and

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXVIII, p. 196.

[2] *Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. VI, p. 169.

[3] F. C. Gray, in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXVIII, p. 196.

[4] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 344.

12, in the reprint of the official copy in *New England's Jonas cast up* — are not here.

In the reply of the general court, November, 1646, to the petition of Dr. Child and others; which reply is printed in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*, pp. 201–7, the substance of many of the Liberties or "Fundamentalls," is given. This agrees with Mr. Gray's printed copy, except in three instances, which may be clerical or typographical errors.[1] The manuscript copy in the Athenæum library was apparently made after the 1672 edition of the *Laws*, with which it is bound, was printed.

Mr. Gray has prefixed to the *Body of Liberties* an historical account of the early colonial laws of Massachusetts. He remarks upon this code:

"The *Body of Liberties* . . . . exhibits throughout the hand of the practiced lawyer, familiar with the principles and securities of English liberty; and although it retains some strong traces of the times, is in the main, far in advance of them, and in several respects in advance of the Common Law of England at this day.[2]

[1] These instances are: 1, on p. 202, the matter referred to as in *Liberty* 1, is in sect. 1 of *Liberty* 95. 2, on the same page, what is referred to as in *Liberty* 2 and 38, is in sects. 2, 3 and 8 of *Liberty* 95. 3, on p. 204, what is referred to as in *Liberty* 23 is in *Liberty* 29.

[2] Witness the 80th *Liberty*, providing that no man shall strike his wife; whereas the common law of England authorizes the infliction of chastisement on a wife with a reasonable instrument. There is an anecdote, that Judge Buller, charging the jury in such a case, said to them: "Without undertaking to define exactly what a reasonable instrument is, I hold, gentlemen of the jury, that a stick no bigger than my thumb comes clearly within that description;" and that a committee of ladies waited on him the next day, to beg that they might be favored with the exact dimensions of his Lordship's thumb.

See also *Liberties* 8, 9, 10, 11 and 25, and several others, for provisions in advance of the age.—*Note by Mr. Gray.*

"It shows that our ancestors, instead of deducing their laws from the books of Moses, established at the outset a code of fundamental principles, which, taken as a whole, for wisdom, equity, and adaptation to the wants of their community challenge a comparison with any similar production, from Magna Charta itself to the latest Bill of Rights, that has been put forth in Europe or America."[1]

Stephen H. Phillips, Esq., in a sketch of the life of Mr. Ward, published a few years ago, expresses the opinion that this code will be admitted to be a great work "even by the wisest men of the present age."[2] "The soldier who conquers a country by fire and sword," says he, "the robbing adventurer, who, tossed about by the wind and waves, first plants his foot on what afterwards becomes a great country, is thought worthy of a place in history, but how much greater claim has any man to kind remembrance by posterity, who shapes their civil institutions with a master hand and the salutary influence of whose labors is felt for centuries in all the relations of private life. It is hardly too much to claim this merit for Mr. Ward."[3] "The *Body of Liberties*," he adds, "is not strictly a statute. It is chiefly a bill of rights and was wisely so understood by its framers. It indicates but does not define, rights of which it acknowledges the independent existence, but to which it does not impart vitality."[4]

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXVIII, p. 199.

[2] *Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. VI, p. 169. Mr. Phillips refers to 7 Cushing's *Reports*, 67, and 7 Allen's *Reports*, 158, where the code is approvingly noticed by judges of the supreme court of Massachusetts.

[3] Ibid., p. 170.

[4] Ibid., p. 169.

Mr. Poole, in the introduction to his edition of Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, speaking of the preamble to the *Body of Liberties*, says: "This sublime declaration, standing at the head of the first code of Laws in New England, was the production of no common intellect. It has the movement and the dignity of a mind like John Milton's or Algernon Sidney's; and its theory of government was far in advance of the age. A bold avowal of the rights of man, and a plea for popular freedom, it contains the germ of the memorable Declaration of July 4, 1776."[1]

It was provided that, at every general court for three years following, this code should be audibly read and deliberately weighed, and that such of the laws as were not altered or repealed should "stand so ratified; that no man shall infringe them without due punishment." For the omission to read them, the governor, deputy governor, and every magistrate and deputy were to be fined."[2]

In June, 1642, three new laws inflicting the punishment of death were enacted,[3] making fifteen in all; and the capital laws,[4] thus amended, were ordered to be printed.[5]

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[1] *The Wonder Working Providence*, edited by W. F. Poole (Boston, 1867), pp. ci–cii. Mr. Poole doubts whether Mr. Ward was "the sole author of the preamble;" and suggests that "the leading ideas" may have "originated with some of the acute and advanced thinkers of that period in England."

[2] *Body of Liberties*, lib. 98.

[3] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 21.

[4] The Capital Laws form only one article (No. 94), of the code. None of the copies then printed for the colony are probably in existence; but a reprint will be found in *New England's Jonas cast up*, published at London, in 1647, and reprinted by Force in his *Tracts*, vol. IV, and in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXIV.

[5] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 22.

The people must have been satisfied with the provisions of the *Body of Liberties;* for Mr. Gray states that almost all its articles are contained, in substance, in every subsequent digest. But they still desired a revision, including all laws and orders of general obligation. In March, 1643–4, Gov. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Hibbins, were ordered to examine the *Body of Liberties*, and report to the next court what alterations were needed; and Mr. Bellingham was requested to finish the work committed to him in 1641.[1] On the 7th of June, 1644, Mr. Bellingham delivered to the court, a book containing a collection of the laws, and a committee was appointed to examine it.[2]

At the July session, 1645, three committees were appointed, one for each of the counties except Norfolk, to meet in their several counties and draw up bodies of laws to be presented at the next general court. Mr. Cotton was on the committee for Suffolk, and Mr. Ward on that for Essex.[3] In October, these committees are desired to hold their first sessions on or before the 12th of November, that for Suffolk to meet at Boston, that for Middlesex at Cambridge and that for Essex at Ipswich; and to report to the next court.[4]

The next meeting of the court was May 15, 1646, at which these committees reported, and a new committee was chosen to make a digest of the codes presented by the committees, and of "the abbreviation of the laws in force which Mr. Bellingham took great store of pains and to good purpose," in. Mr. Ward

[1] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 61.
[2] Ibid., vol. III, p. 6.
[3] Ibid., vol. II, p. 109; vol. III, p. 27.
[4] Ibid., vol. II, p. 128.

and Mr. Bellingham were members of this committee, which was ordered to meet at Salem or Ipswich on or before the tenth of August.[1]

We will not follow the history of the laws of Massachusetts further, in detail, our object being merely to show the part Mr. Ward took in their compilation. A digest of the laws was printed in 1648;[2] another in 1660, and a third in 1672. Great search has been made by antiquaries and lawyers for a copy of the first edition, but hitherto without success, as far as we can learn. Copies of the other editions, however, are preserved.

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[1] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 157; vol. III, p. 75.

[2] Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, book III, chap. v; Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 265; Thomas's *History of Printing*, vol. I, p. 234.

Mr. Gray (*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xxviii, 196) gives 1649 as the date of this edition; but Johnson, who served on committees upon the laws, before and after the printing, places it under 1648, as do the other authors above cited. The *Massachusetts Colony Records* show that the laws were nearly ready for the press, March 5, 1647–8 (II, 239); that they were in press, May 10, 1648 (II, 239); and that Oct. 27, 1648 (II, 262), they were so nearly ready for delivery as to have provision made for their distribution, as appears from the following order:

"It is ordered by the full Courte that the bookes of lawes, now at the presse, may be sould in quires at three shillings the booke, provided that every member of this Courte shall have one without price, and the auditor generall and Mr. Joseph Hill, for which there shalbe 50 in all so disposed by appointment of this Courte."

A subsequent entry at the same session (II, 263) provides for the insertion of a word in all the books before distribution.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival and Settlement of Mr. Ward's Relatives.

In the summer[1] of 1638, a few months after Mr. Ward's appointment on the committee to frame a body of laws for the colony, his step-brother, Rev. Ezekiel Rogers,[2] arrived in New England. He had been chaplain to Sir Francis Barrington of Hatfield Broad Oak, in Essex, whose wife was an aunt to Oliver Cromwell;[3] and, after residing five or six years in the family of that baronet, he had received from him the benefice of Rowley, in Yorkshire. His ministry in this parish lasted about twenty years when he was suspended. A few years later, in 1638, he sailed for New England from Hull with some of his Yorkshire people in ships that had been brought for that purpose, through his influence, from London.[4] Before he embarked he had visited the "South,"[5] perhaps London; and he may have been in that city making arrangement for the passage of himself and his friends in February and March, 1637–8, when the council of the Somers island, having learned that he intended to emigrate to New England, voted to offer him favorable

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed. p. 278; 2d ed. p. 335.

[2] Biographical sketches of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers will be found in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. V, pp. 119–28; Gage's *Rowley*, pp. 55–67; Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. I, pp. 120–2; Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xiii; Brook's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 341–5; and Eliot's and Allen's *Biographical Dictionaries*, art. Rogers.

[3] See Noble's *Protectorate House of Cromwell* (1784), vol. II, p. 44.

[4] Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xiii, sects. 2, 3, 7, and 8.

[5] *Historical Magazine*, vol. I, p. 148.

propositions to settle with his people at the island of Providence.[1] It was about this time that the eight vessels before mentioned[2] were forbidden by the English government to sail with their passengers for New England, the order for staying them having been passed March 30, 1638.[3] Two of the gentlemen who are said to have been passengers in these vessels, namely, Sir Matthew Boynton and Sir William Constable, are mentioned by Mather as having intended to accompany Mr. Rogers to this country, "if some singular providences had not hindered them."[4]

His company, according to Winthrop, consisted of "some twenty families,"[5] and, according to his cousin Nathaniel, of "about two hundred" persons.[6] After his arrival in New England, he was solicited to settle with his people at the new colony of New Haven;[7] but he finally concluded to begin a new settlement adjoining Ipswich, where his relatives, Mr. Ward and Mr. Rogers resided. This plantation was named Rowley, in honor of his Yorkshire home.

In 1639, Mr. Ward was joined by his eldest son, John, who had that year resigned his living at Hadleigh.[8] It was his wish that his son and Mr Giles Firmin, who had married his daughter, Susan, should settle in the same place, and, as this was not convenient in Ipswich, he looked around him for a suitable site for a new plantation. He found two promising places on the

[1] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Colonial Series, vol. I, pp. 263–4.
[2] Ante, p. 46.
[3] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, p. 138.
[4] Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xiii, sect. 8.
[5] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. I, 1st ed., p. 294; 2d ed., p. 354.
[6] *Historical Magazine*, vol. I, p. 148.
[7] Mather's *Magnalia*, and Savage's *Winthrop, ubi supra*.
[8] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 291.

Merrimac river, where the towns of Andover and Haverhill were subsequently located. The first hint of this design that we have, is found in a letter to Gov. Winthrop, December 22, 1639, from which letter we have before quoted. He requests the governor not to promise "nor giue any incouragment concerning any plantation att Quichichacke or Penticutt till my self and some others either speake or write to yow about it, which shalbe done as soone as our counsilles and contrivalls are ripened."[1] The plan is more fully stated in the following letter from Mr. Firmin, written four days later:

"Much honoured and deare Sir:

"But that I thinke it needlesse (God havinge more than ordinarye fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what griefe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction which is lately happened to your worship, by means of that unfaithful wretch: I hope God will find a shoulder to helpe you beare so great a burthen. But the little time there is allotted me to write I must spend in requesting your worships counsel and favour. My father in law Ward, since his sonne came over, is varey desirous that wee might sett down togeither, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. Because that it cannot be accomplished in this town, is verey desirous to get mee to remove with him to a new plantation. After much perswasion used, consideringe my want of accommodation here (the ground the town having given mee lying 5 miles from mee or more) and that the gaines of physick will not finde mee with bread, but, besides, apprehendinge that it might bee a way to free him from some temptations, and make him more

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, p. 27.

cheereful and serviceable to the country or church, have yeelded to him. Herein, as I desire your counsel, so I humbly request your favour, that you would be pleased to give us the libertye of choosinge a plantation: wee thinke it will be at Pentuckett, or Quichichchek, by Shawshin: So soon as the season will give us leave to goe, wee shall informe your worship which we desire: And if that, by the court of election, we cannot gather a company to beegine it, wee will let it fall. Wee desire you would not graunt any of them to any before wee have seene them. If your worship have heard any relation of the places, wee should remaine thankful to you, if you would bee pleased to counsel us to any of them. Further, I would entreate for advise in this: The towne gave mee the ground (100 acres) upon this condition, that I should stay in the towne 3 yeeres, or else I could not sell it: Now my father supposes it being my first heritage (my father having none in the land) that it is more than they canne doe to hinder mee thus, when as others have no business, but range from place to place, on purpose to live upon the countrey. I would entreate your counsel whither or noe I canne sell it. Further: I am strongly sett upon to studye divinitie, my studyes else must be lost: for physick is but a meene helpe. In these cases I humbly referre to your worship, as my father, for your counsel, and so in much haste, with my best services presented to your worship, wishinge you a strong support in your affliction, and a good and comfortable issue, I rest

"Your worships in what he canne to his power,

"Ipswich, 26. 10th 1639. "GYLES FYRMIN.

"Wee humbly entreate your secrecye in our desires."[1]

[1] *Hutchinson Papers*, pp. 108–9.

It would seem from another letter from Mr. Firmin to Gov. Winthrop, two months later, February 12, 1639—40, that the governor's advice was against his removal to a new settlement. We give an extract:

"For the letter which your worship sent mee and for your vndeserued loue therein manifested, I humbly thanke you. Your counsell, carriinge, reason and your owne experience in it, I cannot sett light by, hauinge beene a means to calme my disquiett thoughtes, and to stopp them in their hurrye; my Father [in] law still holdes his owne, and would yet haue mee rise from hence. My brother Ward waners much, but rather declines it, from your arguments, and some others which we find out together; howsoeuer, if time will giue vs leaue (the Lord willinge) some of vs will veiw Pentuckett in the springe, because euery one that hath seene it giue it such large commendations for a small towne: the way also thither beeing passable for a great pinnace: only my feare is that Passatonnaway liuinge there sometimes, hee will hardly bee bought out with a little. My brother Ward hath beene offered the place at Marblehead, when the minister goeth away to Jefferies Creeke who is there. The message was first done to my Father Ward who should haue enformed my brother of it, but hee kept it in his owne breast, and did not reueale it, till long after by accident hee heard of it: so that now he fears the opportunity is slipt: diuers enticements hee hath to returne to England, but his wife is vtterlye against it; and hee is willinge, if hee might but haue any employment, to stay still. If your worship did but put in a word for him, if you thinke the place conueniente for him, your word would doe much; he did helpe at Rowlye, but because hee was not in couenant, some tooke offence, and hee

layed it downe at my vnckles desire, and his church, who else would gladly [haue] enjoyed his helpe."[1]

The visit to Pentucket, promised in this letter, was probably made. At any rate liberty to commence a settlement upon the Merrimac was requested of the general court, at their session May, 1640. The records inform us that, "the desires of Mr. Ward and Newberry men was committed to the Governor, Deputy Governor and Mr. Winthrop, senior, to consider of Pantucket and Coijchawick, and to grant it them, provided they returne answer within three weekes from the 21st present, and that they build there before the next courte."[2]

Within the time prescribed — probably soon after the grant — a settlement was commenced at Pentucket.[3] Neither Mr. Ward nor any person known to be of his family were among the first settlers.[4] He, himself, continued to reside at Ipswich, and so did his son-in-law, Mr. Firmin, but his son, John, had removed to Newbury as early as the following winter; for Mr. Thomas Gorges in a letter written February 23, 1640–1 from Agamenticus, in Maine, mentions that a call had been given to "young Mr. Ward, of Newbury," by the people of that settlement.[5] Mr. Ward, Jr., accepted the call; and in proceeding thither lost his way, which adventure Winthrop relates in his *Journal*, May 13, 1641, as follows:

"Mr. Peter and Mr. Dalton, with one of Acomen-

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 274–5.

[2] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 290.

[3] Chase's *History of Haverhill, Mass.*, p. 37.

[4] See list in Chase's *Haverhill*, p. 38.

[5] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, p. 334. See also Lechford's *Plain Dealing*, p. 45.

ticus, went from Piscataquack, with Mr. John Ward, who was to be entertained there for their minister; and though it be but six miles, yet they lost their way, and wandered two days and one night without food or fire, in the snow and wet. But God heard their prayers, wherein they earnestly pressed him for the honor of his great name, and when they were even quite spent, he brought them to the seaside, near the place they were to go to, blessed forever be his name."[1]

The residence of Rev. John Ward at Agamenticus could not have been long, for Rev. Dr. Felt, under date of 1641, mentions his removal with others from Ipswich to Haverhill."[2] Mr. Chase thinks he removed to the new plantation in the fall of 1641.[3] In 1645, a church was organized there and he was ordained as the minister.[4] The same year the town was incorporated, receiving the name of Haverhill in honor of the English town, where his grandfather preached and was buried, and where both he and his father are said to have been born. With this people he remained to the close of a long life, dying December 27, 1693.

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[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 29; 2d ed., pp. 34–5.

[2] Felt's *Ipswich*, p. 72.

[3] Chase's *Haverhill*, p. 40.

[4] Ibid., p. 60; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 252; 2d ed., p. 309; *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 197.

CHAPTER VII.

Political and Religious Affairs.

Early in the summer after his son went to Agamenticus, Rev. Nathaniel Ward preached the election sermon before the general court, which met Wednesday, June 2, 1641.[1] Winthrop thus speaks of this event:

"Some of the freemen, without the consent of the magistrates or governour, had chosen Mr. Nathaniel Ward to preach at the court, pretending that it was a part of their liberty. The governour (whose right indeed it is, for till the court be assembled, the freemen are but private persons), would not strive about it; for, though it did not belong to them, yet, if they would have it, there was reason to yield it to them. Yet they had no great reason to choose him, though otherwise very able, seeing he had cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich, and was now no minister by the received determination of our churches. In his sermon, he delivered many useful things, but in a moral and political

[1] Under the first royal charter of Massachusetts, March 4, 1628–9, the meeting of the court of election was fixed on "the last Wednesday of Easter terme yearely," consequently it was held on the day previous to Ascension day. A list of the days on which the Massachusetts court of election met, from 1629 to 1686, when the government of New England was consolidated under Andros, will be found in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VII, p. 332. They range from April 29, in 1668, to June 2, in 1641. Under the second charter, the meeting of the general court was changed to the last Wednesday in May.

discourse, grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error; for if religion and the word of God makes men wiser than their neighbors, and these times have the advantage of all that have gone before us, in experience and observation, it is probable that by all these helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourselves, than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths. Among other things, he advised the people to keep all their magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honor or power to one than to another, which is easier to advise than to prove, seeing it is against the practice of Israel (where some were rulers of thousands, and some but of tens), and of all nations known or recorded. Another advice he gave, that magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cause, before it came to public hearing. This was debated after, in the general court, where some of the deputies moved to have it ordered. But it was opposed by some of the magistrates." [1]

At the December session in 1641, the general court, probably in consideration of his services, granted to Mr. Ward six hundred acres of land, at some place where it would not be detrimental to a plantation.[2] Mr. Cotton was granted the same quantity of land at the same time. The farm of Mr. Ward was ordered, in May, 1643, to be laid out near Pentucket or Haver-

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., pp. 35–6; 2d ed., pp. 42–3. Winthrop proceeds to give the reasons for opposing the motion. His editor remarks that, "the advice of the preacher was good, notwithstanding the formidable array of arguments against it."

[2] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. I, p. 344.

hill.[1] This large tract he conveyed to Harvard College before leaving New England.[2]

On the 12th of June, 1643, Mons. La Tour, who had a fort on the St. John river, arrived on a friendly visit, at Boston, in a ship of 140 tons, with one hundred and forty persons on board. This visit of La Tour was for the purpose of obtaining assistance in reaching his fort, his rival, Mons. D'Aulnay, owner of a fort on the Penobscot, having blockaded the St. John by two ships and a galiot, thereby preventing his entrance. Two meetings were held, at the call of Gov. Winthrop, of such of the magistrates as were at hand, and some of the deputies, who took La Tour's request into consideration, but decided that they could not help him without the consent of the commissioners of the other colonies. They, however, agreed to permit him to hire any ships that lay in the harbor, provided he could agree with the owners.[3]

[1] "Mr. Natha. Ward is granted his farme of 600 acres, as near Pentucket, as may conveniently be, to be layd out by Sargent Howlet of Ipswich, Joseph Jewett of Rowley, and Philip Challice of Salsbury."—*Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 38.

[2] The following brief deed is recorded, "22 (2), 1657," at the Suffolk Registry, lib. 1, fol. 81:

"I wholly resigne, grant, sell and make over, all that Farme of 600 Acres, giuen mee by the Generall Courte, lying neere Andovir by merimacke, to the College at Cambridge for ever. Dec. 10th 1646.

By mee, NATHANIEL WARD.

Acknowledged, the day & yeare aboue said, before

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor."

The following extract from the *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. IV, part II, p. 113, under date of May 27, 1664, shows that this tract was still owned by the college:

"The Generall Court . . . . . doe also order the treasurer [of the college] to lay out the sixe hundred acres of land had of Mr. Ward, and improve the same, or make sale thereof, as he shall judge best for the colledge benefit."

[3] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., pp. 107–16; 2d ed., pp. 128–39.

La Tour, availing himself of this permission, hired four ships and a pinnace, for two months, and sailed with them, July 14, 1643.[1] Some of the colonists feared this action would involve the colony in a war; and the same day that La Tour sailed, three magistrates residing at Ipswich, with Mr. Ward, and the ministers of Rowley and Ipswich, signed a remonstrance which they had drawn up, against the proceedings of the governor and his advisers, and concluding that the remonstrants "are and desire to be held cleare and innocent of this undertaking."[2] It was not sent in till after the vessels had sailed, and probably not till after those having the matter in charge knew they had sailed.[3] The remonstrance is not in the handwriting of Mr. Ward; but he may have aided in drawing it up.[4] Palfrey says of it: "To my eye this paper bears unmistakable traces of the pungent pen of Warde."[5] Dr. Bond infers that Saltonstall was the leader in the protest, "not only from his social and official position, his being the first subscriber, and his known sentiments, but from his subsequent conduct."[6] Bradstreet seems to convey the idea that it was a joint production.[7] The governor wrote an elaborate answer

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 127; 2d ed., pp. 152–3.

[2] *Hutchinson Papers*, p. 119.

[3] Ibid., p. 133.

[4] The remonstrance is printed in full in the *Hutchinson Papers*, pp. 115–19. The signers are, Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Simonds, Nathaniel Warde, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers and John Norton. The original document is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The chirography looks like that of Mr. Saltonstall, but we are not quite sure that it is his.

[5] Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. II, p. 124.

[6] Bond's *Genealogies and History of Watertown*, p. 920.

[7] *Hutchinson Papers*, p. 133.

to it,[1] and it was also replied to by Mr. Dudley, father-in-law of one of the signers, and by Rev. John Wilson pastor of the Boston church.[2]

The court held a session in September, but took no action upon this subject: and from the fact that the magistrates of the bay and the deputies of Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury and Dorchester, who appear to have been the persons that recommended the policy which occasioned the protest, were appointed a committee with power to act during a recess of the court in relation to the expedition against Gorton, and upon certain Indian matters,[3] we infer that the course adopted by the governor, was approved.

At the next court of election, May 29, 1644, an Essex man, John Endicott, then deputy governor, was chosen governor instead of Winthrop, who took Endicott's place;[4] and the deputies, a majority of whom were new members, prepared a bill for a commission, consisting of seven magistrates, three deputies and Mr. Ward, "to order all affairs of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the general court."[5] This bill was defeated by the assistants, who claimed, by the patent, the power proposed to be delegated to the commission; and though the deputies offered to confine the power of the commission to war only, and to admit all the magistrates as members, the assistants would not agree to it.[6] Action was postponed till the next

[1] Gov. Winthrop's answer is printed in full in the *Hutchinson Papers*, pp. 121–32.

[2] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 128; 2d ed., p. 154.

[3] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 46.

[4] Ibid., vol. II, p. 66; Palfrey's *New England*, vol. II, p. 156.

[5] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p., 167; 2d ed., p. 204.

[6] Ibid., 1st ed., p. 168; 2d ed., p. 206.

court, when the opinion of the ministers of the colony being asked, they decided that the court of assistants had the power they claimed.[1] This bill, according to Winthrop, originated with the Essex people,[2] and Dr. Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, upon what authority we know not, speaks of the plan of a popular commission, as Mr. Ward's "measure."[3]

In the year 1643, the well known arrest of Mr. Samuel Gorton and his companions took place. They were brought to Boston in October, and after trial, were sentenced to be confined in Charlestown and other places during the pleasure of the court:[4] but they were released the next spring.[5] Gorton, in his work called *Simplicities Defence against Seven-headed Policy*, asserts that, during this confinement, Mr. Ward came to the prison window, and called to Richard Carder, one of their company, who had been a neighbor of his in Essex. "Mr. Ward," says Gorton, "seemed to be much affected, being a man [who] knows how to put himselfe in a passion, [and] desired the said Richard, that if he had done or said anything that he could with good conscience renounce, he desired him to recant it, and he hoped the court would be very merciful; and saith he, it shall be no disparagement unto you, for here is our Reverend Elder, Mr. Cotton, who ordinarily preacheth that publickly one year, that the next he publickly repents of, and shows himself very sorrowful for it to

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, 1st ed., pp. 204–9; 2d ed., pp., 250–6; *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, pp. 90–6.

[2] Ibid., 1st ed., p. 167; 2d ed., p. 204.

[3] Palfrey's *New England*, vol. II, p. 409.

[4] *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 57; Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., pp. 142–8; 2d ed., pp, 171–8.

[5] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., pp 148 and 156; 2d ed., pp. 178 and 188; *Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 62.

the Congregation, so that (saith he) it will be no disgrace to you to recant in such a case." [1]

Edward Winslow, who arrived in England early in 1647,[2] found Gorton's work, from which we have just quoted in print,[3] and, as a reply to it, wrote his *Hypocrasie Unmasked.* In this work Mr. Winslow states that Mr. Ward being in London at the time, "a man well known and reputed," he showed him the book. Mr. Ward, after thanking him for his kindness in drawing his attention to his alleged conversation at the prison window, returned him an answer, which Mr. Winslow prints *verbatim* as follows:

"*Samuel Gorton* having made mee a Margent note in the 53 *page* of his Booke, I hold my self called

[1] *Simplicities Defence*, p. 53.

[2] The date of Mr. Winslow's arrival in England, we have not ascertained precisely; but, as he left New England in the middle of December, 1646, it is safe to suppose he did not complete his voyage before the first of the next month, which, according to our present reckoning, is the beginning of the year, and which, even then, seems to some extent to have been so regarded; for, the first edition of the *Simple Cobler*, which appeared in January, 1646–7, bears date 1647. This may, it is true, have been a bookseller's trick. *Hypocrasie Unmasked*, which was probably given to the printer after the *Simple Cobler* was published, bears date a year earlier, namely, 1646. It is probable that Mr. Winslow put his book to press before the close of the legal year, 1646, which ended March 24, 1646–7, and that the title page was then printed, but that the printing was not completed and the book published till some time after. Thomason, who, though he seems to have taken great pains to be accurate, was, of course liable to error, has minuted upon his copy of *Hypocrasie Unmasked*, "Oct. 2," 1647, as the date of its publication; but this could not be the true date, for, *New England's Jonas cast up at London*, which contains a reply to *Hypocrasie Unmasked*, bears an earlier date, April 15. Mr. Winslow had arrived in England, and had written his book, or at least a considerable portion of it "not much above two months" after he left New England.

[3] Thomason gives the date of publication of *Simplicities Defence*, "Nov. 8," 1646.

to .make this answer to it; I cannot call to minde that ever I knew or spake with such a man as *Richard Carder* nor that ever I had any speech with any prisoner at a window, nor should I need it in *New England*, where there is liberty enough given for conference with prisoners, in more free and convenient places. This I remember, that one *Robert Potter* who went in the same Ship with mee into *New England*, and expressing by the way so much honesty and godlinesse as gained my good opinion and affection towards him: I hearing that hee was affected with *Samuel Gorton's* blasphemous conceits and carriages, and therefore now imprisoned with him.[1] I went to visit him, and having free speech with him in the open prison yard, who shedding many tears might happily move me to expresse my affection to him which *Samuel Gorton* calls passion: After some debate about his new opinions, I remember I used a speech to him to this effect: That hee should doe well and wisely to make such acknowledgment of his errours as his conscience would permit; telling him that Mr. *Cotton* whom he had so much reverenced in *Old England* and *New* had given him a godly example in that kinde by a publique acknowledgement upon a solemne Fast day, with many teares; That in the time when errours were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spirituall slumber; and had it not been for the watchfulnesse of his brethren the Elders, etc., hee might have slept on; and blessed God very cordially for awakening him, and was very thankefull to his Brethren for their

[1] Robert Potter was ordered to be confined at Rowley (*Massachusetts Colony Records*, vol. II, p. 52); but this conversation seems to have been held while the prisoners were at Boston.

watchfulnesse over him and faithfulnesse towards him, wherein he honoured God not a little, and rejoyced the hearts of his hearers; and therefore it would be no shame for him to doe the like.

"Concerning Mr. *Cotton*, were I worthy, I would presume to speak that now of him, which I have said more then many times of him elsewhere, That I hold him such an eminent Worthy of Christ, as very few others have attained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace, learning, and industry in the worke of God.

"For the Author, *Samuel Gorton*, my self and others farre more judicious, take him to bee a man whose spirit is starke drunke with blasphemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever hee comes: I intreat him to read *Titus* 1. 13, with an humble heart, and that is the greatest harm I wish him.

"N. W."[1]

CHAPTER VIII.

Close of Mr. Ward's Residence in New England.

Near the close of the autumn of 1644, Mr. Ward's son-in-law, Giles Firmin, parted from his New England relatives and friends to return to his native country. His family was left behind, probably in charge of Mr. Ward. Mr. Firmin did not sail directly for England, but took passage in a vessel bound for Malaga, which,

[1] *Hypocrasie Unmasked*, pp. 76–7.

with a consort, left Boston on the twenty-third of November. The next month the vessels encountered a severe storm on the coast of Spain and were shipwrecked near Cadiz. Nineteen persons were drowned, but the rest of the passengers and crews were saved, among them Mr. Firmin, who remained several months in Spain, but had arrived in England before the thirtieth of the following July.[1]

As early as 1645,[2] Mr. Ward commenced writing his *Simple Cobbler*. This was completed by the autumn of 1646, and sent to England for publication,[3] where it appeared in January, 1646–7.[4] It was published under the assumed name of Theodore de la Guard, which is merely a slight disguise of his own name *Theodore* being the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Nathaniel*, and *De la Garde*, the French of the English, *Ward*.[5] In this book he writes:

"We make it an article of our American creed, which a celebrate Divine of England hath observed upon Heb. 11. 9, That no man ought to forsake his

[1] A brief memoir of Rev. Giles Firmin, by the writer of this, was printed in the *Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1866, and a few copies were reprinted in pamphlet form for distribution to friends.

[2] "I cannot thinke that *materia prima* or *secunda* should be good for me, that am at least, *Materia millessima sexcentessima quadragesima quinta*." *Simple Cobler*, 1st and 2d eds., p. 17; 3d and 4th eds., p. 18.

[3] We feel confident that the work was sent to England for publication and not carried over by him and published; as there is not sufficient time between the last date that he is known to have been in New England and the date of its publication at London, to have allowed him to make the voyage to England and carry the work through the press.

[4] It was published according to Thomason, January 29.

[5] See *Historical Magazine*, vol. III, p. 115; vol. VIII, p. 398; and vol. IX, p. 35.

Country, but upon extraordinary cause, and when that cause ceaseth, he is bound in conscience to return if he can. We are looking to him who hath our hopes and seasons in his only wise hand."[1]

The cause that forced the subject of this memoir from his native land had then ceased. The hierarchal system under which he suffered had yielded to the vigorous assault of the Puritans; many of its arbitrary laws had been swept away. The oppressor of the Puritan clergy, William Laud, whose severity he, himself, had felt; who, when he left England was at the height of his influence, a

* * * "mitred king behind the throne,"[2]

had since then been stripped of his power, imprisoned and finally brought to the scaffold. The civil as well as the ecclesiastical government of England had been purified by blood, and Marston Moor, and Naseby, had made the Puritan name formidable.

The twelve years and upwards which he had spent in Massachusetts had been eventful years to that infant colony also. The stability of its government had been threatened by a violent religious controversy and by a war with the natives, but the danger from both had been averted; learning had been fostered by founding an university and by establishing common schools in most of the towns; printing with its conservative influences had been introduced; a code of laws, which now that two centuries have elapsed extorts praise from the jurist, had been framed; and a confederation with other

[1] *Simple Cobler*, 1st ed., p. 23.

[2] Robinson of Leyden by Holmes in the *Atlantic Monthly*, for July, 1859.

Puritan colonies, for mutual protection, had been effected. Massachusetts had become consolidated, powerful and respected. The experiment of 1634 was a success in 1646.

In regard to the place where his exile had been spent, Mr. Ward had been singularly favored. The society of the town of Ipswich, while he resided there, was one of the most intellectual and refined in the colony. An unusually large proportion of the people were persons of wealth and education. At one time, out of ten assistants — who, with the governor and deputy governor, constituted the highest legislative and judicial body in the colony — no less than four resided at Ipswich.[1]

Nature also had done much for the place. The scenery here is full of beauty, and resembles somewhat that of Mr. Ward's native country.[2] Rev. Elias Nason, author of the *Life of Sir Henry Frankland*, and other works, thus describes the prospect which presents itself to view from one of its eminences:

"Ipswich is one of the most beautiful of our seaboard towns. Broken as the surface of it is into hill and dale, upland and meadow; covered as it is with forest, oatfield, orchard and garden, through which meander the unpretending Ipswich river and its tributary streamlets, this ancient town abounds in most delightful views and prospects. It brings to mind some of the charming rural scenery of Dorsetshire in England, more vividly than any other spot I know.

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[1] Bellingham, Saltonstall, Bradstreet and Symonds.

[2] The late William Tudor addressing an English friend, refers to the panoramic view from the steeple of the church at Ipswich, as being one of remarkable extent for this part of the country, and adds: "The prospect will put you in mind of the scenery of your own country."—*Letters on the Eastern States*, 1st ed., 1820, p. 267; 2d ed., 1821, p. 316.

"Ascend, on some lovely morning in the month of June, that beautiful eminence which they call Town Hill. To the north, your eye stretches far away over the verdant meadows of Rowley and Newbury, catching glimpses of the spires of Newburyport, to the rounded summit of Powow Hill. A little to the right, you see the fantastic and shifting sand knolls of Plum Island, the beaches of Salisbury and Hampton, the solitary peak of Agamenticus, the Isles of Shoals and the dim distant coasts of Maine. On the east, you send your gaze along over the silvery beach of Squam, and the headlands of Cape Ann, far out into the Atlantic ocean, sparkling in the sunbeams, and dotted with countless sail of fishermen or coasting vessels. Below you, on both sides of the river, lies the quiet village, half sheltered by its towering elm trees; while farther inland rises a succession of wooded or cultivated hills and knolls, with intervening glades and hamlets, green pastures and blossoming orchards, which terminate picturesquely in the confines of the neighboring towns of Hamilton, Topsfield and Rowley.

"When my eye first swept over this charming landscape, the involuntary exclamation of my heart was: '*A vision of beauty is an eternal inheritance.*' And so it is; while the impression made by bolder and sublimer scenes, though deep, is oftentimes but momentary, the remembrance of the calm, quiet loveliness of this old town, will never pass away."

Though the cause for leaving England had been removed, he was not perfectly satisfied with the condition of the nation at that time, and thought that his presence might be of some service[1] in preserving truth

[1] "Letter to some friends," prefixed to a *Sermon before the House of Commons*, 1647.

and promoting peace there. He began, therefore, to make preparations for his return to his native country, where his son-in-law was already residing. He sold his land in Haverhill, November 25, 1646,[1] obtained a certificate from Harvard College for his son, December 3,[2] and conveyed to that institution, December 10, the land granted him by the colony.[3] He did not remain here much longer.[4] Mr. Savage thinks he returned to England in company with Edward Winslow,[5] who left about the middle of December.[6] Mr. Pulsifer states that he went before the sixth of January, 1646–7.[7] He himself, speaks of a "hard winter voyage."[8] He probably took with him his daughter, Susan, and her children, who had been left in New England by her husband,[9] and his son James, above mentioned, a graduate at Harvard College the previous year. The latter was, after his return to England, made a Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford University.[10]

The testimony which he bears to the morality of the community in which he had lived is worth quoting. He writes:

"I thank God, I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English, these twelve years, and am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one oath, nor never saw but one man drunke,

[1] See Appendix IX.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. II, F., p. 63.

[3] *Suffolk Deeds*, lib. I, fol. 81.

[4] *The Day Breaking*, etc., by Rev. John Eliot, published April, 1647, at London, contains a recommendation from him.

[5] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II, 1st ed., p. 167; 2d ed., p. 204, *note*.

[6] Ibid., vol. II, 1st ed., p. 317; 2d ed., p. 387.

[7] Preface to Pulsifer's ed. *Simple Cobbler*, p. iv.

[8] "Letter to some friends," prefixed to *Sermon before the Commons*.

[9] Calamy's *Baxter*, p. 244.

[10] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. II, F., 85.

nor ever heard of three women Adultresses, in all that time that I can call to minde. If these sinnes bee amongst us privily, the Lord heale us. I would not bee understood to boast of our innocency: there is no cause I should, our hearts may be bad enough and our lives much better."[1]

Mr. Ward, however, was not the first writer, who had borne so favorable a testimony, in England, to the morality of the New England people. His old associate and subsequent opponent, Rev. Hugh Peters, in a sermon preached in 1645 before parliament, the city of London and the Westminster assembly, in addressing the authorities of London, had used this language:

"The streets also are swarming with poor, which I refer to the Senators of this City, that it is glorious in many wayes, why should it be so beggarly in the matter of beggars? I leave to your wisdome *De modo.* Yet let not my request dye. I have lived in a Countrey where in seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor lookt upon a drunkard: why should there be beggars in your Israel where there is so much work to do? and if this designe were well minded and managed in the City, there would be little place left for such Excentrick motions."[2]

Fifteen years later, in 1660, Peters repeats the statement: "In seven years, among thousands there dwelling, I never saw any drunk, nor heard an oath, nor [saw] any begging, nor sabbath broken."[3]

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[1] *The Simple Cobler*, 4th ed., p, 65. The first three editions say, "*almost* these twelve years."

[2] *God's Doings and Man's Duty*, a sermon preached before both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Assembly of Divines, April 2, 1645. By Hugh Peters, Preacher of the Gospel, 1st ed., pp. 45–6.

[3] *Case Impartially Communicated*, as quoted by Trumbull. For

The house in which Mr. Ward resided in Ipswich[1] was standing late enough to be remembered by Cotton Mather,[2] who states that he had seen over the mantle-piece these "three words engraved, *Sobrie*, *Juste*, *Pie*, and a forth added which was *Late*."[3] The same writer furnishes this anecdote of him: Mr. Ward "observing the great *hospitality* of Mr. Wilson," pastor of the First Church of Boston, "in conjunction with his metagrammatising temper, said That the anagram of JOHN WILSON was, I PRAY COME IN, YOU ARE HEARTILY WELCOME."[4] An hundred witty speeches of Mr. Ward's, he also tells us, had been recorded; but, he adds, "he had one Godly Speech that was worth 'em all, which was, *I have only Two Comforts to Live upon: the one is the Perfections of* CHRIST; *the other is the Imperfections of all* CHRISTIANS."[5]

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other testimony to the same effect, see Trumbull's edition of *Lechford*, p. 69; McClure's *Life of Norton*, pp. 194–6; and *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XX, pp. 333–5.

[1] We find no conveyance of a house at Ipswich by Mr. Ward. Perhaps he lived in the house of Giles Firmin, which according to Mr. Hammatt was sold to William Goodhue. See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. IV, p. 11.

[2] Rev. Samuel Peters, LL.D., in his *History of Rev. Hugh Peters* (pp. 145–7), relates an anecdote of Mr. Ward and Dr. Mather; but as Mr. Ward left New England when the first Dr. Mather was in his eighth year, and died before the second was born, we do not think it advisable to transfer this anecdote nor the accompanying remarks on the character of Mr. Ward, to our pages; especially as we find no indications that they are even founded on fact. The anachronisms and other inconsistencies in this anecdote are pointed out in the *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. I, p. 195.

[3] *Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather*, pp. 186–7.

[4] *Magnalia*, book III, chap. iii, sect. 20.

[5] *Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather*, pp. 186–7.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Ward's Publications.

At the time the *Simple Cobbler* of Agawam was issued, the Presbyterians were at the height of their power in England. They had lately obtained control of parliament, and that body had completed its negotiations with the Scots for the surrender of the king into its hands. The very day after the book made its appearance at London, that is, on the 30th of January, 1646 – 7, the commissioners of parliament at Newcastle received the king into their custody. The war then seemed virtually at an end; and, to the Presbyterian leaders, the way appeared open for disbanding the present army, in the interest of the Independents, and raising another entirely devoted to their own policy. They looked forward with hope to a not far distant time when their legislation would not be impeded by the fear of hostile pikes, and when they would be able to establish their church discipline in all its vigor, and suppress with an iron hand the sectaries with which the nation abounded.

Mr. Ward must have arrived at London soon after his book issued from the press, or possibly before it was published. If he was a fellow passenger with Edward Winslow, as is probable, he could not have landed in England later than the close of February.[1] The Westminster assembly of divines was then per-

[1] See foot-note [2] on page 81.

fecting its labors on its famous confession of faith. Of this assembly, his only surviving brother, Rev. John Ward of Ipswich, was a member,[1] a regular attendant on its sessions, and of sufficient standing in his profession to have been chosen, on different occasions, to preach before each house of parliament. Mr. Ward would therefore have little difficulty in making the acquaintance of such of the guiding spirits of the nation, then congregated at the metropolis, as had not been acquainted with him before his departure from his native land, or had knowledge of him from his sufferings under the prelates, or from his lately published book. The clergy and the wealthy citizens of London, and the Presbyterian leaders of parliament, no doubt, received him as a welcome ally, even though he may not entirely have agreed with them in sentiment. His book is mainly on their side. In it, assuming the character of a cobbler who had exiled himself to the new world, and who in safety, but not without strong interest, now looked upon the political and religious storms which were sweeping over his native country, he utters his quaint reflections and pungent satire on the times. Little attempt is made to maintain the character assumed, except by a free use of homely illustrations. The legal knowledge of

[1] Possibly Rev. Nathaniel Ward may have been the writer of — and his brother John the member of the Westminster assembly who received — a letter from New England, dated December 8, 1645, upon church discipline, an extract from which is printed in *Gangræna*, part II, p. 166, and is copied into the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XX, pp. 211–12. Its style and sentiments resemble in some particulars those of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, and though the time of Mr. Ward's residence in New England does not agree with that here given, yet he may be the author of the letter. It comes nearer to it, however, than the residence of Hugh Peters does to Peters's own statement. That divine was here less than six years, and in no less than four of his works he speaks of his residence as "seven years."

the author and his wealth of classical and theological learning are freely poured forth for the instruction of the reader.

The army and the Independents were then pressing their demands upon parliament for a legal recognition of toleration,[1] and the most ultra among them had openly expressed sentiments in favor of a republic. Mr. Ward was opposed to both. In religion he desired unity and a legal power to enforce it. In national affairs he would have the ancient constitution — a government by king, lords and commons — and a proper subjection of the military to the civil authorities. In the *Simple Cobbler*, he dwells upon the evils of polypiety, as he terms it, and urges that the spread of heresy should be checked by statutory acts. He advocates a speedy settlement of the difficulties between the king and parliament, so that the ancient form of government, but purged of its corruptions, may be restored; and appeals particularly to the king to make concessions. He shows an evident leaning towards Presbyrianism, though he disavows the name.[2] A digression

[1] Before June 12, 1646, a major in the army had explicitly told a minister of London, "that they were not so much against Presbyteriall Government (though many thought them so) as against being tied to any Government at all; for if the Parliament would set up the Independent Government, and injoyne that upon them, they should be as much against that as against Presbyteriall Government. They held liberty of Conscience, that no man should be bound, or tyed to anything, but every man left free to hold what they pleased; that was the judgement and true genius of that sort of men in the Army, called Independents, that in all matters of Religion no man should be bound, but every man left to follow his own Conscience."— *Edwards's Gangræna*, part III, p. 175.

Though this may have received a tinge from the Presbyterian medium through which it has been transmitted to us, we obtain from it some insight into the feelings of the more advanced Independents in the army.

[2] *Simple Cobler*, 1st 2d and 3d eds., p. 35; 4th ed., p. 37.

is made, early in the book, to attack the fashions in dress then prevalent among the women of England.

Mr. Ward seems to aim at being a mediator; but his decided partisan bias and his blunt manner of expressing his opinions, are out of place in such a character. The work, however, was evidently popular, for it passed through four editions before the close of the year.[1] The author took great care in the revision of the various editions, all of which contain emendations and additions. Though the book was published anonymously, Mr. Ward probably made no secret of the authorship; at least it seems to have been known at an early day, for a memorandum by Mr. George Thomason on the title page of an anonymous pamphlet, in the *Civil War Tracts* collected by him, which pamphlet was written by Mr. Ward, and published in the spring of 1650, is that it was by "Mr. Ward, y^e^ Cobler of Aguaume."[2] A similar memorandum is found on another pamphlet, published in May, 1648,[3] less than sixteen months after the *Simple Cobler* was first issued.

We will here introduce a few couplets that will answer a double purpose: they will present some of the author's political maxims; and they will show his rhythmical skill in a more favorable light than the verses, written later in life, which we shall hereafter have occasion to print.

I.

They seldome lose the field but often win,
That end their wars, before their wars begin.

[1] A copy of the title page of the first edition, and the variations of the other editions, with bibliographical minutes, will be found in Appendix X.

[2] See *Notes and Queries*, 3d series, xi, 237, March 23, 1867.

[3] See Appendix X.

2.

Their Cause is often worst, that first begin,
And they may lose the field, the field that win.

3.

In Civill wars, 'twixt Subjects and their King,
There is no conquest got, by conquering.

4.

War ill begun, the onely way to mend,
Is to end the War before the war doe end.

5.

They that will end ill wars, must have the skill
To make an end by Rule, and not by Will.

6.

In ending wars 'tween Subjects and their Kings,
Great things are sav'd, by losing little things.[1]

Parliament seemed then to hold the destinies of the nation at its disposal. A few months passed away, and the condition of affairs was materially changed. The measures taken by the Presbyterian leaders for perpetuating the ascendancy of parliament and their own rule, resulted in awakening the fears, and strengthening the power of the army. At this crisis, Mr. Ward was called upon to preach before the house of commons. The sermon was delivered at a monthly fast, Wednesday, June 30, 1647. It was a day of uncertainty and peril to those who agreed with him in opinion, upon the state of the nation. Less than four weeks before Charles I had been taken by Cornet Joyce from the hands of the commissioners of parliament, and conducted to the army; and only a

[1] *Simple Cobler*, 1st ed., pp. 43–4.

fortnight had elapsed since that army had laid, before the commons, its charge of treason against the eleven members, after drawing nearer to London in defiance of the commands of parliament. The sermon, we presume, was preached in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where sermons before parliament were usually delivered.

The preacher, considering that vigorous action was then necessary to restore the lost supremacy, endeavored to rouse parliament to the assertion of its rights as the representative of the nation. He took for his text the 14th verse of the 19th chapter of Ezekiel: "And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches, which hath devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation." He dwelt upon the necessity of authority in a state, and showed how the welfare and happiness of a people suffered if it were destroyed, citing examples from classical, scripture and modern history. He applied the text to the condition of England at that time with unsparing severity. The condition of the king, of the parliament, of the form of government, of the administration of justice, of the army and of the people seemed to him proper subjects for lamentation. The conduct of the army, he censured severely. He thought parliament was deserving of blame for not having taken more effectual means for the restoration of the king, and advised an appeal to the people by an order for the election of a new parliament.

The sermon gave such dissatisfaction that the house did not order it printed. Dr. Grey states that, "they did not present him with a piece of Plate, as usual, ... nor desire him to print his Sermon, or return

him thanks *for the great Pains he took*, according to Custom: a Favour" he continues "that I am confident was scarce ever refused to any one before, in the Compass of Seven Years."[1] The course taken by the house was probably owing more to a desire to conciliate the army, than to dissatisfaction with what was said of its own body; though some of the views expressed—the recommendation of a dissolution of parliament for instance—would not be likely to please the preacher's friends there. The unanimity of sentiment in the army and the boldness of its leaders dictated prudence to the more moderate at least of the Presbyterians in parliament. No wonder if, under such circumstances, the house of commons hesitated, even though they knew that their conduct would seem, to their more ardent followers, weak and vacillating.

Mr. Ward states that the portions of his sermon that he had heard spoken of as giving displeasure, were, first, his speaking in favor of the king; second, his censure of the army; and, lastly, an odd expression that caused some of his hearers to smile.[2] The sermon was printed, however, but professedly without the author's knowledge or consent,[3] from a copy which he had sent to some of his friends for examination. The letter which accompanied it is prefixed to the printed copy of the sermon. From this we quote some passages for the insight which they give into his character and life:

"To satisfie your expectations, I am willing to send you a true coppy of my Sermon as I wrote it, but I

[1] Grey's *Examination of Neal's Second Volume*, p. 434.

[2] "A Letter to some Friends," prefixed to *Sermon*, June 30, 1647.

[3] "The Bookseller to the Reader," prefixed to same *Sermon*.

confesse in some things a little different from my preaching it: wanting time and rest, having travelled much a little before the day, and striving to speake loud in so great a Church: I soon discerned, that I could not be master of my thoughts and memory: but forgat some things materiall and expressed two or three passages inconveniently which sounded ill in mine owne eares. I was very loth to read my notes more then some scriptures; had I done it, I presume I had not offended any: but my judgement is altogether against it." * * *

"Some of you know how truely unwilling I was to come upon any publique Stage, knowing how perillous and jealous the times are, and how seriously I declined this text, suspecting the very words of it would be ungratefull to some. I consulted with seven intimate friends about it, and another much cooler and peaceable, whereto my owne minde led mee, as they can beare mee witnesse, six of them urged mee to this, yet my heart did constantly discourage me from it, though upon many thoughts, I could not conceive any subject so necessary as to perswade the restauration and conservation of our lost authority, in a time when Government has fallen so low, and mens Spirits risen so high: that if it be not suddenly looked into, no humane eye can see any helpe or hope how it can be screwed up againe to its due altitude, unlesse it be by him who can doe what he please.

"I trust I shal not be grieved that I was not thanked or ordered to print, I am not only above, but averse to both. I have had more thankes than I can tell what to doe with, and many justifie me I feare too much, and more importunity to print then I have or shall listen unto, for I see the nakednesse of it well enough.

This I acknowledge grieves mee sadly that comming a hard Winter voyage over the vast raging Seas to doe what service I could to my Country, in preserving Truth and promoting Peace, I am obstructed so far as I am. I am not ignorant that there are some troubled at my being here, and watching an opportunity to weaken me and my worke, which I have attended faithfully, meekly, and not without some successe, but I am not altogether discouraged. I hope I shall make and keep my peace with the Lord as for men I hope not for it, till hee shall vouchsafe to give us more humility and feare then I can yet see in this Land, which two graces seeme to me to bee much more wanting then they ever were in my dayes."

Mr. Ward must have commenced writing the next work that is known to be by him soon after the delivery of his sermon, if it had not already been begun; for it was composed and carried through the press in season to be issued on the twenty-seventh of the following August.[1] It was entitled, "*A Religious Retreat*

[1] This is the day of publication given by Mr. George Thomason, who made at the time a collection of more than two thousand books and pamphlets printed from 1640 to the restoration. Mr. Thomason gives, as a preface of the first volume of his tracts, an account of the collection and his reasons for making it, in which this sentence occurs:

"The method that hath been observed throughout is Tyme, and such Exact Care hath been taken that the very date is written upon most of them that they came out."

It is evident from the last clause that the manuscript dates are intended for the days of publication, and not as some have supposed the days that Mr. Thomason obtained his copies. Undoubtedly he made some mistakes. When no dates are given, as is frequently the case, we presume that the collector was unable to ascertain the days of publication. He certainly knew the days on which he obtained them.

Hon. James Savage, author of the *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, has published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 284–95, some bibliographic notes derived from this

Sounded to a Religious Army, by One that desires to be faithful to his Country though unworthy to be named."[1] In this work an appeal is made to the army to consider the state of the country and to regard parliament and not themselves as supreme. They are urged to think what a burden so large an army is to the state and the people. After serving the state, they should, they are told, have laid down their arms, to be disposed of by the piety and prudence of the parliament, by which course they would have covered themselves with perpetual praise. The author contends that only such a competent army of select forces should be retained as the wisdom of the state should deem meet for the public safety, and that these forces should be so ordered and quartered that they should neither be a terror nor a burden to the country. He beseeches the army, whatever else they intend, to leave the people a free parliament, otherwise they rend the state up by the roots. They must not think because they have conquered they are to govern. He appeals to history to prove that no nation ever prospered that was at the mercy of a large army. His views are enforced by quaint, ingenious and powerful arguments.

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collection upon the rare works relative to New England there found; to which he has prefixed an historical and descriptive notice of the collection itself. For the dates of publication of *Simplicities Defence* the *Simple Cobler*, *Hypocrasie Unmasked* and *New England's Jonas*, we are indebted to Mr. Savage's notes. The other written dates from these tracts have been furnished us by Joseph L. Chester, Esq., whose valuable assistance relative to the kindred of Mr. Ward we have before acknowledged.

The collection is now in the British Museum. As it formerly belonged to George III, the works in it are sometimes referred to as in the King's Collection, or as among the King's Pamphlets.

[1] The full title of this work will be found in Appendix X.

But the conduct of parliament towards the army had not been such as to inspire confidence in its intentions; and no arguments nor eloquence would have been able to induce it to follow Mr. Ward's advice which would place it entirely in the power of those whose hostility had not been concealed. His appeals fell upon the public ear, also, during the excitement that followed the submission of the city and parliament to the army, and the triumphant entry of Fairfax into London with the speakers and members of the two houses, who had sought protection in the army from a metropolitan mob.

The Rev. Hugh Peters, who is ranked among the Independents, and who supported the cause of the army, soon after issued a tract entitled: *A Word for the Armie and two words to the Kingdome, To Cleare the One and Cure the other*,[1] in which he replied to his old New England acquaintance. An answer to this appeared, November 9, 1647,[2] under the title: *A Word to Mr. Peters and Two Words for the Parliament and kingdom*. It professes to be "By a Friend to the Parliament, City and Ministery of it." Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL.D., who in 1834[3] supposed this to be by Mr. Ward, in 1851[4] and again in 1855[5] assigns it to him without qualification. It was not issued by the publisher of Mr. Ward's previous works; and if it was written by him he evidently wished its authorship to be concealed from the public, otherwise he would

[1] The full title of this work will be found in Appendix X.

[2] Mr. Thomason's written memorandum. See Appendix X for full title of this work.

[3] *History of Ipswich, Mass.*, p. 218.

[4] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. v, p. 286.

[5] *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, vol. i, p. 599.

not have bestowed his praise so liberally upon the author of the *Religious Retreat*[1] and quoted his sermon so often.[2] It is evident, if he was not the author, that he furnished some of the facts.

Mr. Peters, in his pamphlet, calls the author of the *Religious Retreat* a "Pedantick."[3] To this, the writer of *A Word to Mr. Peters*, replies and inquires why he calls him a pedantic: if it be because the author of the *Retreat* is obliged by his poverty to go on *foot*, while Mr. Peters can, "in pomp," ride on *horseback*.[4] This pun is something in the style of Mr. Ward. On the whole, we are inclined to believe him to be the author.

The following spring, a new work by Mr. Ward appeared. The Presbyterians who had been overawed by the army, had again obtained the ascendancy in parliament; and felt confidence enough in their power to enact a stringent ordinance against what they termed heresy and blasphemy. This ordinance had passed through some of its stages in 1646, but from policy had been suffered to sleep through the late brief period of Presbyterian rule; and not till the second of May, 1648, was the ordinance passed into a law.[5] The beneficed clergy at that time were nearly all Presbyterians and their form of church government had for two years been established by law,[6] but the ordinance having been passed when the Independents had great influence

[1] *A Word to Mr. Peters*, pp. 8 and 26.

[2] Ibid., pp. 5, 15, 27.

[3] *A Worde to the Armie*, p. 4.

[4] *A Word to Mr. Peters*, p. 7.

[5] Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. II, pp. 254 and 520; Neal's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 484–6.

[6] Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, chap. X (ed., New York, 1851), p. 348; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. II, pp. 236–40; Neal's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 298–300.

in the Commons, some of its provisions were not agreeable to the advocates of Presbyterianism. The prescribed "discipline was never carried into effect, except to a certain extent in London and Lancashire."[1] The synod of London, "with due Prolocutor or Moderator," did not meet till May 20, 1647.[2] As at that date, Mr. Ward must have been in England, it is not improbable that he may have witnessed its proceedings.

Mr. Ward's book was issued May 5, 1648, during the flood tide of Presbyterian success. It professed to be *Petitions* to Parliament from "Freeholders of the Easterne association."[3] The title was probably suggested by the petitions got up that spring in Essex and other counties.[4] In this tract is presented, in a clear manner, the distracted state of the country, the dissensions of the people, the low state of religion, the insupportable oppression of an imperious soldiery, and the tardy action of an undispatching parliament. The author urges parliament to support religion and warns it against allowing the king to be disposed or the succession to the throne to be changed. He urges, throughout the book, vigorous but conciliatory action. Many of the views presented here are the same as those found in the *Religious Retreat;* but being addressed to

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[1] Hallam's *Constitutional History*, p. 349; Neal's *Puritans*, vol. III, pp. 336, 481–3.

[2] Carlyle's *Cromwell* (New York, 1845), vol. I, p. 210.

[3] See title in Appendix X.

The "Eastern Association," otherwise called the "Seven Associated Counties," according to Carlyle, who gives some interesting details relative to it in part II, of his *Letters of Cromwell* (vol. I, pp. 126 and 134), then comprised the counties of Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford and Huntingdon.

[4] See Ludlow's *Memoirs* (Vivay, 1698), vol. I, pp. 243–4; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. II, pp. 526–30.

a different, and in some respects antagonistic body and at another crisis, they are necessarily brought forward in a different form. In doing this, considerable tact and literary skill are shown.

The day before the Petitions were published,[1] a pamphlet appeared under the title of the *Pulpit Incendiary*, which Dr. Felt supposes to be by him.[2] The latter work, though favoring the Presbyterian cause, condemns the severe language used by Rev. Mr. Calamy and other ministers of that persuasion towards the army.

In the autumn of the same year, November 9, 1648, another work attributed to him made its appearance at London, namely: *Mercurius Anti-mechanicus or the Simple Cobler's Boy with his lapful of Carcats or Take-heeds.*[3] The object of this work appears to have been to stem a growing opposition — at least, indifference — in his day, to a learned ministry; and to combat by ridicule the idea that ministers ought to earn their living by secular employment, or, as it is here expressed, that "a Preacher must not make a living of the Word of life, but is bound in conscience to drive a trade besides teaching for his maintenance."[4] The author gives preachers engaged in various avocations, advice drawn from their several callings, much after the manner in which Cotton Mather was wont to draw religious instruction from trivial events in his own life.

[1] Thomason's manuscript date is "May 4." See Appendix X.

[2] *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, vol. I, p. 599.

[3] See full title in Appendix X.

[4] "Epistle Dedicatory" prefixed to the work. It is addressed, "To his cunning and much more honest Parent, the Simple Cobler," and signed "Theodore de la Guarden, or Sim. Cob. Junior."

In this work, an excuse is made for what in the *Simple Cobbler* are called "new quoddled words."[1] "The truth is," the writer says, "I have been so much *habituated* and *half-natured* into these *Latins* and *Greeks*, ere I was aware, that I neither can *expell* them, nor *spell* my own *mother-tongue* after my old fashion."[2] This is no doubt true of Mr. Ward, whether he wrote the excuse or not. His "new quoddled words" seem to have flowed as freely from his pen, as, in our own day, those of Carlyle do from his.

In this trifling satire, the author takes occasion to speak a few words in favor of the king. "I heartily wish and pray," he says, "that my *selfe* and *England* may live to see our *Soveraigne* the *Lord's annointed*, and to behold mine *head's* HEAD adorned with a *naturall silver Crown*, and that with an *artificiall golden Crowne*, and that both of them may be *found in the way of right-cousnesse*, that so an *immarcessible Crown of glory* may be hereafter his portion. These are the *three Crownes* which *many talke*, but *few think* of. In the meane season let every *loyall heart* pray for the *Royal Head* (which is but a *charitable allegiance*) and for the *body representative* and the *universall Politie*. For my particular, I doubt not but his Majesty hath *tears* in *God's bottle* of his *owne* and *others*, and that God hath a *Book* for him, written in *Characters* of the *same*, and my *petition* and *repetition* shall be (that the *Al-sufficient* would be *graciously* pleased, *gloriously* to super-intend in his *Majesties* & his *Honourable Senates Minds* and *Wils*, and become the *God of our King*, and the *King of our Gods*. If any quarrell with me for praying *for the King and*

[1] *Simple Cobler*, 1st ed., p. 76; 2d and 3d eds., p. 77; 4th ed., p. 86.
[2] Epistle Dedicatory to *Mercurius Anti-mechanicus*.

those in Authority (though the *Motto supreame* will apologize for mine integrity, HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE) let them well animadvert that the *King of heaven* accounts it no disloyaltie to pray for our very enemies."[1]

Some of our literary acquaintances, whose critical sagacity we respect, have formed from internal evidence the opinion that this work is not the production of Mr. Ward, and one of them is firmly convinced that it was not written by him. There is really some doubt on the subject. The earliest authority that we have met with in support of his being the author, is the article printed in 1809, in the *Monthly Anthology*. But the writer of that article, Joseph G. Cogswell, LL.D., does not now remember his authority,[2] which is not surprising, considering that the article was written nearly sixty years ago. A careful examination of the book inclines us to the opinion that Dr. Cogswell's statement is correct, and that the style and sentiments are those of Mr. Ward. When we first read the book, however, though we had never heard the authorship of the book questioned, the style of some passages struck us as being unlike his, and serious doubts arose as to his being the author.

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[1] *Mercurius Anti-mechanicus*, p. 50.

[2] The following is extracted from a letter from Dr. Cogswell, dated, "Cambridge, April 13, '67:" "The most I now remember about the article in question, is that I was obliged to commit it in an unfinished state to my friend Mr. A. H. Everett, for publication, in consequence of the ship in which I was about to sail, leaving earlier than was anticipated. The only considerable libraries I had access to, were those of Cambridge, the Boston Athenæum and the Massachusetts Historical Society. I also made a hasty search among the Ipswich town records and found little aid from them . . . . . I remember distinctly that I found great difficulty in finding authentic materials for the notice of the *Simple Cobler*."

Though Mr. Ward advocates, in his books, the restoration of the royal authority, he speaks freely, and not in a very courtierlike manner, of the faults of Charles I, and evidently was in favor of placing restrictions upon the regal power, to secure the rights of parliament and the liberties of the people. He was as far removed in his opinions from the Cavaliers as he was from the Republicans and Independents. His position may be shown by a few extracts from the *Petitions to Parliament:* "Concerning civil dissentions we shall only mention three or four whereof the prime and most irreconcilable is between our King and Parliament, and that about the *negative voice* and *militia*. As we are sadly grieved, that his Majesty is so inexorable on these two points of state, which under favor, we apprehend God never did, nor in his wisdom and discretion ever can commit to any one man whatsoever, in his lapsd estate, nor that any King on earth that is truly and humbly wise dare desire to keep in his sole custody the Key of the being and wel-being of a whole nation, nor that any nation which have the principles of men will ever betrust their lives, liberties and lawes and estates to the prudence and fidelity of anyone mortal man whomsoever if they may avoid it. So on the other side we are not a little troubled that a Parliament of learned and experienced Patriots cannot in so long a time contrive such an intermediate way, by mutuall select councels, right partitions, due proportions, rational distinctions, divine lots, valuable hostages, by altering or abating the oath of Coronation or some other safe Cautionaries so provide for the dignity of Majesty, and safety of subjects that no perfidious or pernicious mischiefs may accrue to one or the other.

"The difference is grown so high, that if we may believe printed and licensed papers or common reports, there are purposes if not preparations, to depose his Majesty from his Rule. An act too transcendant for us to interpose our shallow thoughts, yet of such concernment to the State that we dare not but be bold to present these our earnest Petitions to this honourable assembly, that if possible some mercifull and moderate mean may be mediated, rather than such an earthquake made in three Kingdomes, with all the Allies and Confederates as may too probably subvert the foundations of our lives and beings, by awakening endless war upon our British Scenes."

He prays that whatever may be done in regard to the king may be done "to a Nationall and we could hope to a universall satisfaction." If certain accusations against the King, "cannot be apparently proved but vehemently suspected, we humbly conceive it is the duty of a state to lay him solemnly in such kind of Lavender as grows in the 27 of *Deuteronomy* where assuredly God will find him, in his wisest season and likewise fully discharge the state; it is an ordinance instituted by God for close nefarious sinners and ought to be observed in all religious governments."

If the evidence is "meridian," and "if all the subjects in the three Kingdoms should cry *Virat Rex* never so lond; we are resolved for our parts to say *Amen* so softly as neither God nor men shall hear us."

He is against cutting off all the branches of royalty from inheriting the throne in case the king is not readmitted to his throne.

"It is further whispered," he says, "that there are consultations about altering the frame or form of government, if so we trust your honours will precon-

sider what a perplexed task it may prove for this kickish Island governed by Royalty, ever since it was an inhabited piece of earth, for aught we know, now to suffer another kind of rule to back it; we sadly fear it will try how the new riders will set a saddle through it break all its girths, yea its own neck. We profess for our parts we are of the birds or fowls minds who when they consulted about a King, would rather choose to be ruled by an Eagle, though he had the wings of a fly, than by a council of any other fowls, armed with Eagle's tallons."

The only tract that we have seen attributed to Mr. Ward which was published after the execution of the king, was issued in the spring of 1650 and entitled, *Discolliminium, or A most obedient Reply to a late Book called Bounds and Bonds, So farre as concerns the first Demurrer and no further.*[1] The editor of *Notes and Queries* says of this work that it "has all the raciness and good sense" of the author; and he extracts some observations on the doctrine of divine providence as a proof of this opinion.[2] The latest production of Mr. Ward that we have heard of, is the poem prefixed to Mrs. Bradstreet's volume published later in the same year, which poem will be given in the next chapter.

Mr. Ward's mind seems to have been more of a conservative than a progressive cast. He venerated the old, and was wary of the new. Though favoring many of the reforms of that day, and even laboring and suffering in their behalf, it was because he considered the work in which he was engaged, to be one

[1] See Appendix X. Our first information of this book was received from Rev. T. W. Davids of Colchester.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, March 23, 1867, 3d series, xi, 237–8.

of restoration rather than of innovation. He supported the action of parliament in taking arms against the king, for he believed they had no alternative if they intended to preserve their ancient rights. He had been a nonconformist before he exiled himself to the new world, and he still held his opinions upon the ceremonies; but these observancies were rejected, because he considered them to be against the word of God as interpreted by scholars and divines. He did not resolve with Rev. Hugh Peters, "to keepe a window open to more light and truth,"[1] nor believe with the revered pastor of the Pilgrims that "the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth from his Holy Word;"[2] for, he says: "I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give *Timothy* the solemnest charge, was ever given to mortall man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the comming of Christ, if new things must be expected."[3]

The literary merits of the *Simple Cobbler* have been generally acknowledged. Besides the authors, whose opinions we have quoted, they have been recognized by Cogswell,[4] Tudor,[5] Griswold,[6] Palfrey,[7] and Duyckinck,[8] most of whom have fortified their opinions by extracts from the book itself. *Mercurius Anti-me-*

[1] Peters's *Last report of the English Wars*, 1646, p. 14.

[2] Farewell Advice to the Pilgrims on their departure from Leyden, in 1620, by their pastor, Rev. John Robinson, as reported in 1646 or 1647, by one of them namely, Edward Winslow, in the Brief Narration appended to *Hypocrasie Unmasked*.

[3] *Simple Cobler*, 4th ed., p. 19.

[4] *Monthly Anthology*, vol. VI, p. 346.

[5] *North American Review*, vol. I, pp. 297–305.

[6] *Curiosities of American Literature*, pp. 17–18.

[7] *History of New England*, vol. II, p. 410.

[8] *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. I, p. 18.

chanicus has been favorably noticed by the last named writer,[1] and the *Sermon before the Commons* has been commended by Palfrey.[2] The *Religious Retreat* and *Petitions to Parliament*, are not so well known; and at our request, our friend, William Reed Deane, Esq., of Brookline, Mass., has critically examined both books, and written an opinion which will be printed in the appendix.[3]

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Ward's Ministry at Shenfield.

It is not unlikely that Mr. Ward resided in London, while some of his early publications were passing through the press; but on the third of May, 1648, a little more than a year after his arrival in England, we find him the minister to the church at Shenfield. He probably commenced his pastoral labors there, between January 2, 1647–8, and the preceding date.[4]

This parish is only four or five miles from his former living of Stondon Massey, in a southeasterly direction.[5] There were three gentlemen's seats there in 1680.[6] In 1861, it contained 231 houses, and 1,149 inhabitants.[7]

[1] *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. I, p. 18.

[2] *History of New England*, vol. II, p. 401.

[3] See Appendix XI.

[4] See Appendix XII.

[5] Rev. Thomas P. Ferguson, rector of Shenfield. See Appendix XIII.

[6] Adams's *Index Villaris, in loco.*

[7] English census of 1861. The parish contains 2,397 acres, and averages a population of 306 inhabitants to a square mile.

"The houses, generally distant from each other, form a pleasant village on the road between Mountnessing and Brentwood." [1]

CHURCH AT SHENFIELD.

The distance from London is nineteen, and from Chelmsford, ten miles.[2] The name is from the Saxon, and signifies a pleasant field, which is truly descriptive of this agreeable and fruitful district.[3] The church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It "has a nave, north aisle and chancel to which there is a north chapel. A spire of wood rises to a considerable height." [4] In

[1] Wright's *Essex*, vol. II, p. 540.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 542.

this church, Mr. Ward preached for upwards of four years.

At the beginning of the civil war, Rev. John Childerley, D.D., was rector of this parish. He was there while Mr. Ward officiated in the neighboring church at Stondon. In 1643, he was "very aged," and Wood represents him to have been "also blind." With his consent, the living was sequestered in the spring of that year, and Rev. Henry Goodere, who was the choice of the parishioners, was admitted as minister. Dr. Childerley died before January 19, 1645–6, and the patron presented John Kidby, A.M., who seems to have taken possession of the living to the exclusion of Mr. Goodere, who then held it.[1]

Firmin relates a similar case in one of his books. "It is a practise in England," he writes, "for a Patron to present. Of late I know where a godly Minister was chosen by the people, yet it being a Sequestration, the Incumbent dying, the gift fell into the hands of the Patron; he being an idle companion, turned out the godly Minister, and put in another, that is &c.; the people with one consent did declare against him, and opposed his coming, yet it seems because the Law of the Land will have it so, this man is he that hath the place." [2]

The people of Shenfield were more fortunate, however. Mr. Kidby, had a few years previous, been sequestered from the vicarage of Kirby, and it was decided in consequence that he was incapable of holding the rectory of Shenfield. Rev. Mr. Goodere was therefore reinstated,[3] and remained the incumbent of

[1] See Appendix XII.

[2] *Sober Reply to Mr. Cawdrey* (1653), p. 23.

[3] See Appendix XII.

the living as late as July 21, 1647.[1] We infer from the records of the committee for plundered ministers that he was there the 2d of the following January.[2] Soon after this he was succeeded by Mr. Ward. Newcourt does not mention Messrs Goodere, and Ward, nor Mr. Bound who succeeded the latter, in his list of the rectors of this church.[3] Not long after the restoration, Mr. Kidby resumed his parochial duties at Shenfield, and retained the living till his death near the close of the century.[4]

While at Shenfield, Mr. Ward appears to have taken an open stand with the Presbyterians, if he had not done so before. The *Essex Testimony* which appeared in print, May 3, 1648, in support of the London ministers who had issued a similar *Testimony* the preceding winter,[5] was signed by him.[6] At this time, the hope

[1] Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 464.

[2] See Appendix XII.

[3] Rev. Thomas P. Ferguson, the present rector, thus writes in relation to the entries of the Rev. George Bound on the Shenfield register:

"In the entries of the baptism of his children, he appends some title to his name which looks as if it might be 'Rector of Shenfield,' but which has been carefully scratched out in each case. The title of minister in two places has been allowed to remain."

These erasures may have been made by Rev. Mr. Kidby after his restoration to the living, as he, no doubt, considered himself the legal rector of the parish during the whole term that Mr. Bound officiated there.

[4] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 526. The following are given by Newcourt as the successors of Rev. Dr. Childerley, to the end of the century: "John Kidby, A.M., 19 Jan., 1645, per mort. ult. Rect. John Scamler, A.M., 3 Oct., 1694, per mort. Kidby."

[5] In December, 1647. The title is, "Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them: to which is added a Catalogue of said Errors." See Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 307.

[6] Rev. Mr. Davids, in his *Annals*, p. 307, gives the title of the *Essex Testimony*, as follows: "A Testimony of the Ministers in the Province

of seeing his cherished ideas triumphant, must have been raised to a high point; but, as the months wore away and the power of his opponents continued to increase in the affairs of state, this hope must have grown fainter and fainter, till the boldness of the leaders of the army in bringing the king to trial, and their ability to execute the sentence passed upon him, must have convinced the most skeptical, that the nation was in the power of firm and determined men, and that further resistance to them would, for the present, be fruitless. That Mr. Ward sincerely deplored the execution of his sovereign, there can, from his previous writings, be no doubt. We know that his son-in-law did: and his step-brother, Rev. Daniel Rogers, though he had predicted a violent death for both Laud and the king, bemoaned the fate of the latter, when his prediction was fulfilled.[1]

The *Essex Watchman's Watchword*,[2] published early in the spring, after the king's death, was also signed

of Essex, to the Truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Heresies and Blasphemies of the times, and the toleration of them; sent up to the Ministers within the province of London subscribers to the first Testimony." Printed for Tho. Underhill, at the Bible, in Wood Street. MDCLVII.

Similar *Testimonies*, in response to that of the London ministers, were issued by other counties. Mr. Chester has furnished us the date of publication of this, "May 3," from the king's pamphlets in the British Museum.

[1] See Prediction prefixed to Firmin's *Weighty Questions Discussed*, 1692.

[2] Rev. Mr. Davids prints the title in his *Annals*, p. 312: "The Essex Watchman's Watchword to the inhabitants of the said county, respectively dwelling under their several charges, by way of an apologetical account of their first engagement with them in the cause of God, King and Parliament, for their vindication from unjust aspersions; also by way of faithful premonition of the dangerous evil latent in a printed paper, entitled, *The Agreement of the People*, intended to

by him. Its object was to counteract the effect of a petition to the commons from the army, entitled, "An Agreement of the people of England, and the places therewith incorporated, for a secure and present peace upon the grounds of common right, freedom and safety," which paper had been sent down to that county for signatures. The agreement took grounds in favor of toleration, which the *Watchword* opposed.

We learn little else of his ministerial life at Shenfield. In 1650, he is described as "an able preaching minister," in a return of ministers in Essex and other counties, prepared under the instructions of a committee appointed by Cromwell. The same document states that he held the living "by sequestration."[1] The following anecdote of him, related by his son-in-law, must refer to his residence at Shenfield:

"I have given instance of one in *Essex*, a County famous for the Gospel, who of late years coming to my Father *Ward* to baptize his Child, my Father asked him, Why will you have your Child baptized? He answered because others had their children baptized. Then asked him, how many Gods there were? He answered *Ten*. Then asked him how many Commandments there were? (supposing his mistake), He

be tendered to them for subscription. Ezek. iii, 17, xxxiii, 6; 2 Tim. iv, 5. London. Printed for Ralph Smith, at the sign of the Bible, near the Royal Exchange, 1649." 4to, pp. 140.

Mr. Chester, who has examined copies of this work in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and the British Museum at London, writes that there are sixty-four signatures in all, and that Mr. Ward's, which is last; reads thus, "Nathaniel Ward, Minister of the Gospel at Shenfield." Mr. Thomasson's manuscript date in the latter copy, is "March 8, 1648," that is 1648–9. The printed date of *imprimatur*, at the end of the pamphlet, is "Feb. 15, 1648."

[1] *Lansdowne Manuscripts* (in British Museum), 459; manuscript letter of Rev. T. W. Davids, and his *Annals*, p. 465.

answered Two. Which is the first? He answered, *Salvation:* The Second I know not, but he gave a Second. My Father asked him, if he gave these answers to cross him? The man answered, No truly Mr. *Ward*, if I knew how to answer you better, I would." [1]

During the greater part of Mr. Ward's residence at Ipswich, Mass., he had for neighbors, Gov. Bradstreet and his talented wife, celebrated as the earliest poetess in New England. In 1650, a volume of Mrs. Bradstreet's poems was published, at London, under the title of "The Tenth Muse lately Sprung up in America." [2] To this volume Mr. Ward contributed the following commendatory lines:

"*Mercury* shew'd *Apollo*, *Bartas* Book,
Minerva this, and wisht him well to look,

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[1] Firmin's *Real Christian*, p. 229, Boston ed., p. 230.

Mr. Firmin, had, in a previous work, given this anecdote; but in that work, two different persons are mentioned — one who wished his child baptized because others had their children baptized; and the other who replied that there were ten Gods and two commandments. See *Sober Reply to Mr. Cawdrey*, p. 12.

[2] This book was reprinted, with additional poems and a change of title, at Boston, in 1678, and again in 1758. The late Rev. Rufus W. Griswold, D.D., in the introduction to his *Poetry and Poets of America*, stated that there was an edition previous to the 1650 London edition, namely: one at Cambridge, New England, in 1640; but this is an error. Dr. Griswold's statement has given rise to the erroneous assertion, that this was the first volume of poetry printed in New England.

An elegant edition of Mrs. Bradstreet's published and unpublished writings, was issued last year (1867), under the editorship of Mr. John Harvard Ellis of Charlestown.

Two extensive lists of the posterity of this writer, are printed in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, pp, 113–21; and vol. IX, pp. 312–25. Among her descendants will be found an array of talent that almost tempts one to believe there is really a "Brahmin caste of New England."

And tell uprightly, which, did which excell;
He view'd, and view'd, and vow'd he could not tell,
They bid him Hemisphear his mouldy nose,
With's crackt leering-glasses, for it would pose
The best brains he had in's old pudding-pan
Sex weigh'd, which best, the Woman, or the Man?
He peer'd and por'd, and glar'd, and said for wore,
I'm even as wise now, as I was before:
They both 'gan laugh, and said, it was no mar'l
The Auth'resse was a right *Du Bartas* Girle,
Good sooth quoth the old *Don*, tel ye me so,
I muse whither at length these Girls wil go;
It half revives my chil frost-bitten blood,
To see a woman, once, do ought that's good;
And chode buy *Chaucer's* Boots, and *Homer's* Furrs,
Let men look to't, least women weare the Spurs."

Mr. Ward's wife died about the time of his emigration to New England,[1] and we do not learn that he was married again. We have not discovered her Christian name or surname. Candler does not mention her; but he gives the names of Mr. Ward's children as follows: "John Ward,[2] m^r^ in arts in New England; Susan, married to Giles Firmin, rector of Shalford in Essex; James,[3] s. p."

Through his eldest son, his posterity in this country has been numerous. None of his descendants, however, inherit from him the surname, Ward. Among

[1] In the *Simple Cobler*, 1st, 2d and 2d eds., p. 26, and 4th ed. p. 27, he says: "I have been a solitary widdower almost twelve years;" and in the 1st, 2d and 3d eds., p. 61, he uses similar language, "almost these twelve years," in speaking of his residence in this country. In the 4th ed., "almost" is struck out in the latter instance.

[2] See Appendix XIV.

[3] See Appendix XV.

them, are not a few who have been distinguished in the various walks of life. One of them was the governor of a state,[1] one a member of congress,[2] and several have been clergymen of distinction. Two of his female descendants,[3] have had husbands who held the position of minister from this country to the court of St. James.

In the quiet village of Shenfield, "he ended his days," Mather asserts, "when he was about eighty-three years of age."[4] Subsequent writers have given his death as occurring in 1653; but whether they obtain this date from another source, or deduce it from the age and date of birth given by Mather, we do not know. The probability is, that they are not far from correct as to the year, though the age is evidently wrong. Rev. Edmund Calamy, in 1656, mentions him among the "eminent lights" that "of late years" had "been extinguished in the Nation;"[5] and Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, first published in 1660, represents him as "lately dead."[6] The entries in the

[1] Gov. Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut.

[2] Hon. Leverett Saltonstall.

[3] The wives of the late Hon. Edward Everett, and of Hon. Charles Francis Adams, both daughters of the late Peter Chardon Brooks.

[4] Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xxxi, sect. 1.

[5] "Licenser's Epistle," prefixed to *Living Love betwixt Christ and Dying Christians*, a Sermon preached June 6, 1654, at the Funeral of Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, By Simon Ashe, London, 1656.

The names of these eminent lights are given in the margin as follows: "Mr. Scudder, Mr. Grosse, Mr. Ferriby, Mr. Ludlam, Mr. Nat. Ward, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hill, Mr. Walker, Mr. Conant, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Paramoor, Mr. Gataker, &c."

Mr. Ferriby, the next name but one before Mr. Ward's, was buried September 29, 1652; Dr. Gouge, whose name follows Mr. Ward's, died December 12, 1653; Dr. Hill died December 18, 1653, and Mr. Gataker, the last on the list, died July 27, 1654.

[6] Fuller's *Worthies* (ed. 1840), vol. III, p. 187.

Shenfield parish register, by Rev. George Bound, who succeeded him, begin in November, 1652, so that it is not unlikely that he died in this year, and not far from October. If so, he did not live to see the expulsion of parliament by Cromwell, and his assumption of the reigns of government, as protector. He did not feel the arbitrary rule of that iron-nerved man, nor witness the height of glory to which he raised his country among the nations of the earth. He was spared the sad sight that followed the return of royalty under Charles II, when pious ministers were driven from their flocks, and corrupt manners spread like a flood over the nation. Before these events took place, did the grave open a refuge for one who had seen much of life's vicissitudes — in England, on the continent of Europe, and in the wilderness of the New World; one, who in life's conflicts and trials, having borne his full share, had fairly earned a respite from further toil and suffering.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Candler's Pedigree of Ward.

The *Candler Manuscript* in the British Museum,[1] has long been known to antiquaries. In 1849, Rev. Joseph Hunter gleaned from it much of the genealogical information in his paper on the Suffolk emigrants to New England, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections;*[2] and in 1850, Mr. Somerby printed some extracts from it in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register.*[3]

Rev. Mr. Hunter describes this manuscript as being divided into two nearly equal portions. The first, which gives the pedigrees of the royal family and peers of England, contains little that is new. The second consists of accounts of families to which the author was allied, or with which he was acquainted, and furnishes much genealogical information not elsewhere to be found. Mr. Hunter remarks that there is much obscurity in the manner of displaying the families in this manuscript,[4] which statement both Mr. Somerby[5] and Mr. Chester[6] confirm.

The author, Matthias Candler, M.A., was a Puritan clergyman, born February 24, 1604, educated at Cambridge, and, in 1629, made vicar of Coddenham in Suffolk. From

[1] *Harleian Manuscripts*, 6071.
[2] Vol. xxx. pp. 147–72.
[3] Vol. iv. pp. 178–80.
[4] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. xxx, p. 149.
[5] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. iv, p. 178.
[6] Ibid., vol. xvii, p. 43.

this living, he was ejected after the restoration. He died March, 1663.[1]

Mr. Hunter having given a genealogical account of the family of Nathaniel Ward derived from Candler, we wrote, soon after commencing the preparation of a memoir of that author, to Mr. Chester of London, who had pointed out some errors of Mr. Hunter in relation to the Rogers family,[2] requesting him to examine the manuscript and ascertain if there were any errors in the Ward genealogy. Mr. Chester answered us May 25, 1865, and sent us a fac simile tracing of Candler's pedigree of Ward, with a copy of the will of Rev. John Ward of Haverhill, an abstract of that of his son, Rev. Samuel Ward of Ipswich; and a tabular pedigree, giving his reading of Candler, with additions, properly distinguished, derived from the two wills. "You will see," he wrote, "the difficulty we have to contend with in reading Candler. . . . . I am anxious, for one thing, that you should have in Boston, a fac simile specimen of Candler's pedigrees, that you may see how difficult they are to decypher."

A little more than a year afterwards, July 30, 1866, he informed us that he had made a discovery which cleared up all the mystery in relation to the Ward pedigree. "Mr. W. S. Appleton," he wrote, "recently called my attention to the fact that there were some volumes of Candler's among the *Tanner Manuscripts* in the Bodleian Library, and I spent all last week there. The result was most satisfactory, and the conclusions I come to are these:

"1. That the *Harleian Manuscript*, 6071, was Candler's rough book in which he made the first draughts of his pedigrees. This accounts for the inexplicable character of most of them. He was doubtless in the habit of jotting down fresh facts as he obtained them, and placing them anywhere where he could find space in their respective pages. They were probably all

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. xxx, p. 148; *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. ii, p. 416.

[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xvii, p. 13.

plain enough to himself, but in time became pure hieroglyphics to any body else.

"2. *Tanner Manuscript*, 257, is evidently a first copy of *Harleian*, 6071. It is in Candler's writing, and, as a general rule, the descents are most distinctly traced, so that, in almost all instances, there is no difficulty in understanding his meaning. There are some additions to and variations from the Harleian copy, and he evidently worked to some extent upon this copy, probably rejecting the original entirely.

"3. But the great treasure is still another volume, *Tanner Manuscript*, 180, in which a large number of the pedigrees are written out by Candler himself, in a fair hand, as plain almost as print, and with the descents distinctly traced. So particular was he, in this volume, that, when he could not get the whole family on one or two pages, he merely gives the names and refers to another page; as, for instance, the pedigrees of Nathaniel Ward, and John Ward, and Capt. Samuel Ward of Lidgate, and of Mary Waite, each occupy separate pages, with references to the general Ward pedigree on a previous one. It is a copy of this pedigree that I now am happy to inclose, but for your convenience I have embodied the whole together.

"This was clearly the final result of Candler's investigations, as you will notice he omits or rejects some doubtful points, and corrects mistakes into which he had previously fallen. You will notice how several little mysteries are cleared up, and also that there are some new facts and names."

Mr. Chester informs us that there is no coat of arms given with this pedigree, either in the *Harleian* or in the *Tanner Manuscripts*. From his investigations, which, however, have not been particularly directed to this subject, he thinks that the family was not entitled to arms. It is certain though, that Rev. John Ward of Haverhill, Mass., used a seal with armorial bearings upon a deed, dated 1653, now in the possession of S. G. Drake, Esq. The impression is very distinct, and shows the shield plainly as well as the charge, which is a cross-flory. No tinctures are indicated. The tablet to the memory of his uncle,

Rev. John Ward, at Ipswich, England, has these arms: "Niger a Maltese cross or."

Rev. Nathaniel Ward seems to have used entirely different arms. Appended to the fac simile of his autograph in the 37th volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, is a seal on which two coats of arms are quartered; the 1st and 4th being apparently three quatrefoils, and the 2d and 3d, three water-bougets. Mr. Whitmore, who seems to have seen the original seal, in describing it in the *Heraldic Journal*, vol. III, p. 176, adds that there is "on the fesse point a crescent for difference." The autograph and seal were taken, we presume, from one of the letters of Mr. Ward published in that volume. The seal may have belonged to a friend, or to an ancestor of another name.

The Candler pedigree is arranged in the common tabular form. To print it thus, would involve the necessity of using a large folded sheet which would be liable to tear. The form has therefore been changed, so as to avoid this difficulty, and besides give an opportunity to add notes; while, at the same time, the lines are retained which show the descent and connection of families.

.....WARD[1] of Rivenhall in Essex. Gent., of such esteeme in his cuntry that being then chiefe constable, he, by an oration which he made on Rayne common, quieted a commotion.[2]

.....

— JOHN WARD, Preacher of Haverill.[3]

Susanna, his wife, was, after his death, married to
a *b* Richard Rogers, Preacher at Wethersfield.[4]

[1] The capitals and italics are not in the original, but are used for convenience in designating the families.

[2] The Harleian or first draught reads: "Ward of Rivenall in Essex, gent, a chefe constable of such an esteeme in his country, that by an oration he made, he quieted a commotion of people."

[3] Besides the three sons of John Ward given by Candler, he had two daughters, Abigail and Mary, as we learn from his will.

[4] The Harleian copy reads: "John Ward, preacher at Haucrill. Susan, daughter of .... was 1st the wife of John Ward, and after his death, was ye 2d wife to Richard Rogers, by whom she had no issue."

a *b* *c*

—Samuel Ward, Towne Preacher in Ipswich.

= Deborah, daughter of ..... Leech, the relict of ..... Bolton, clarke, by whom she had issue, Robert Dr of Physicke, and John, Rector of Bucklesham.[1]

— *Samuel Ward*, s. p.

— *Nathaniel Ward*, Dr of Divinity,[2] Rector of Stapleford in Essex.

— *Joseph Ward*, Rector of Badingham. = Sarah, one of the daughters, and coheires of ..... Rudyard of ..... in Staffordshire, Gent.[3]

Deborah, married to Richard Goltie, Rector of Framlingham.[4]

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[1] The Harleian copy reads: "Samuel Ward, the famous Towne preacher of Ipswich. — Deborah, da. of . . . Leeth, the relict of Badingham, in Suff. By whom she had Robert." The will of Samuel Ward names sons, Robert Bolton and John Bolton.

In Davy's *Collections*, vol. Hoxone, p. 78, under Badingham parish, is the following entry, taken from the parish register: "Deborah Ward, widow of Mr. Samuel Ward of Ipswich, buried 22 October, 1652."

[2] The Harleian copy and *Tanner Manuscript*, 257, state that he "mar. daughter of Harrison." The rejection in the revision, shows that this was either untrue, or not sufficiently authenticated. Palmer names a Mr. Ward as ejected from the ministry at Stapleford Tawney, under the Bartholomew act.

[3] The Harleian copy reads: "Joseph Ward, rector of Badingham in Suff. — Sarah one of ye daught & coheires of .... Rudyard in Staffordshire, gent."

[4] Harleian copy adds, "in Suff."

Davy's *Collections*, British Museum, Add. manuscripts, 19096, p. 394, under Framlingham, these facts: "Richard Goltie was ejected, but recovered his living at the Restoration. [Rev. Mr. Davids who copied for us these extracts from Davy, observes upon this statement: "This was for refusing the Engagement, as another was sequestered previously, by the Parliament — one Gouge. See Walker's *Sufferings*, II, 257."] He married Deborah, da. of Samuel Ward. . . . . At the time when the Engagement was pressed some preferred articles against him, and he was removed, p. 379.

In the chancel of the church, on a black marble slab is:

"Here rests ye body of Rich. Golty, Rector of this Church, Ob. May 27, Ao. Dmi. 1678, aet. 74."

North of this, again on a black marble slab:

"Here lye the Body of John Golty, and Rachel, his wife. Hee died ye 22 of Oct., 1669. Shee [died] ye 9 of Decem., 1662."

"R. G. was one of the ministers of Suffolk, who subscribed the petition to the house of peers, 29 May, 1646, concerning church government, which was printed."

Rev. Mr. Davids writes: "His son Richard was rector of Hutton in Essex." See his *Annals*, p. 260, note ‡.

a b c —*Abigail*,[1] married to John Ashborne. Rector of Norton.[2]

—Nathaniel Ward. He was sometimes an Utter Barrester, but after he betook himself to the Ministry. He was sometime pastour of Ipswich in New England, and after Rector of Shenfield in Essex. He was a learned and able man. He wrote the booke called the *simple cobler of Agowam*, &c.[3]

—.....

—*John Ward*, Master in Arts, in New England.[4]

—*Susan Ward*, married to Giles Firmin, Rector of Shalford in Essex.

—*James Ward*, s. p.

John Ward. He was sometimes Rector of Dinnington. He was after a Preacher in Bury, and lastly Rector of St. Clement's parish in Ipswich.

Lydia, daughter of William Acton, Portman of Ipswich, the relict of ..... Burrell.[5]

[1] Miss Harriet A. Bainbridge of London writes to us that a pedigree of Ward of Haverhill, which she has examined, gives another child to Samuel Ward, town preacher of Ipswich, namely, John Ward, who married a Miss Dalton, and was father of Dr. Samuel Ward of Lidgate. It is not improbable that there may have been a John Ward in this family, who was married and had a son as described; but we think he was not a son of Samuel, the town preacher; for if Rev. Samuel Ward had had such a son, it is likely that he would have mentioned him in his will. The children there agree exactly with the pedigree in the *Candler Manuscripts*.

[2] The Harleian copy adds, "in Suff."

Davy, under parish of Norton, Add. Manuscripts, British Museum, 19079, pp. 294, 297, informs us that: "John Ashburne succeeded Edmund Cartwright, the successor of Nicholas Bound." Davy gives these extracts from the parish register:

"Joseph Ashborne, son of Mr. J. A., bap. 20 Feb., 1648. John Ashborne, bur. 5 Jan., 1649. Thomas Hardy and Abigail Ashborne, m. 1 July, 1658 John Ashborne, bur. 2 Aug., 1661."

Under the parish of Wangford, Add. Manuscripts, 19083, Davy quotes from a contemporary news sheet as follows: "1st of Aug. One Mr. Ashborne, ... of good parts and of great skill in curing mad people, going to visit some of his acquaintance, was waylaid by one of his mad patients, who was in his house for cure, seeing him go by, struck him in his neck with a pitchfork, and not satisfied with that, drew his knife and stabbed him. He died immediately."

[3] The Harleian copy reads: "Nath. Ward of Ipswich in New England, rector of Shenfield in Essex."

[4] The descendants of Rev. John Ward, M.A., will be given in Appendix XIV.

[5] The Harleian copy reads: "John Ward, Rector of Dennington in Suff., and after of St. Clements in Ipswich. Lydia, daughter of Will. Acton portman in Ipswich,

a b c —*Lydia Ward.*

—*Philip Ward*, student of Christ's Church in Oxford, sometime Proctor of that University. He was addicted to the warres and was Colonel of a Regiment in Jamaica, where he died s. p.[1]

—*Martha Ward.*

Mary Ward, married to ..... Gilbert, a citizen of London.[2]

—*Susan Ward*, married to John Baily, m^r^ of a ship.[3]

John Ward, Master in Arts, sometimes Rector of Thelnetham by sequestration.[4]

—*Samuel Ward*, Bach. in Arts, s. p.[5]

—*Sarah Ward.*

—*James Ward.*

—*Abigail Ward.*

— ..... WARD, of Boyton Hall in Monkes Ely.

— ..... daughter of ..... the relict of ..... Chaplaine.

—Captain SAMUEL WARD, of Lidgate.

= Anne, daughter of ..... Atwood of ..... in Essex, Esq^r^.[6]

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the relict of Burrell gent." In Davy's *Suffolk Collections*, it is stated that John Ward "married Lydia, sister of John Acton of Branford, Esq., and widow of Daniel Burrell, Gent."

The father of Lydia was, we presume, William Acton, portman of Ipswich, who died Nov. 29, 1616, aged 76, and who has a monument against the wall of the chancel of the small church of St. Mary at the Elmes, Ipswich, which monument was erected by his son John. See Clarke's *Ipswich*, pp. 196 and 356.

[1] The Harleian copy reads: "Philip Ward, a student in Christ's church Coll. in Oxford, Proctor of that University about 1655, since a Colonel in Jamaica, but returned againe." He was proctor from 1652 to 1653. We find by the *Calendar of British State Papers*, Colonial Series, Vol. I, pp. 479–80, 482 and 490, that Col. Philip Ward was granted by the council of state, April 24, 1660, a commission as governor of "the isle or islands of St. Christophers," but was respited on the return of Charles II.

[2] Mr. Chester sends me this marriage from the register of St. Bennet's Grace Church, London: "1661, June 12, William Gilbird of Whitefriars, Fleet street London, widower, and Mary Ward, of St. Clements, Ipswich."

[3] The Harleian copy reads: "Susan, married to John Bailiffe in Ipswich."

[4] The Harleian copy reads: "John Ward, Master in Arts, rector of Thelnethem."

[5] The Harleian copy reads: "Samuel Ward, mr. in Arts."

[6] In the Harleian copy under this marriage is the abbreviation, "s. p."

a *b* *c* = ... daughter of ..... Clopton of ..... Gent.[1]

Anne, married to Thexton [altered from Clarxton] rector of Ginningham in Norfolk.[2]

Deborah, married to ..... Johnson of Colchester.

Samuel Ward = ... daughter of John Clarke of East Bergholt.[3]

ABIGAIL WARD, married 1 to ..... Smart, minister of St. Nicholas parish in Ipswich,[4] she was his 2d wife. 2, her 2d husband was ..... Munnings, rector of Preston by sequestration.

..... married 1 ..... Corboll of Bildeston. Her 2d husband was Philip Jacob, rector of Rickingall.[5]

ANOTHER SON named .....[6]

.....

EDWARD WARD, of Ipswich.

Elizabeth Dale, of Burstall,[7] = Thomas Grigges of Ipswich, her 2d husband.[8]

Edward Ward, Mr. in Arts.

Samuel Ward. He went to Jamaica.[9] He married Margaret, the daughter of ..... Lenthall, Gent.

Samuel Ward.

Another died an infant.[10]

ABIGAIL married to Samuel Wood of Dedham.

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[1] The children of Capt. Samuel Ward of Lidgate are all represented to be by the daughter of .... Clopton, in both copies.

[2] The Harleian copy reads: "Anne married to Robert Clarxton, rector of Ginningham in Norfolk." Robert Thexton was instituted rector of this parish in 1650 on the presentation of the master and fellows of Catharine Hall, Cambridge. His predecessor was Thomas Thexton, instituted in 1623 on the presentation of Robert Thexton, clerk.— *Blomfield's Norfolk*, viii, 126.

[3] The Harleian copy reads: "Samuel Ward married .... Clarke."

[4] All after Ipswich is not found in the Harleian copy.

[5] This daughter is not named in the Harleian copy.

[6] Rev. John Ward of Haverhill had a brother Edward living in 1598. See Will.

[7] "Of Burstall" is not found in the Harleian copy.

[8] The Harleian copy adds "s. p." to this marriage, but has not the words, "of Ipswich, her 2d husband."

[9] All after Jamaica is not found in the Harleian copy.

[10] This child is not named in the Harleian copy.

a *b*
—MARY.
= Samuel Waite, of Wethersfield.
—MARY married to Robert Lord.[1]
—SAMUEL WAITE = Hellin Crosse.
—JOHN WAITE = ... daughter of ..... Hill of Malden.[2]
—JOSEPH WAITE[3] = Margaret, daughter of Matthew Lawrence, Towne preacher[4] of Ipswich.
—ANNE WAITE.
—THOMAS.
—SUSAN.
—ABIGAIL.
—SARAH.

[1] Robert Lord of Ipswich, Mass., who died Aug. 21, 1683, in his 80th year, married Mary Waite.—*Felt's Ipswich*, p. 167.

[2] Joseph Hills of Malden, Mass., who came from Malden in Essex, had a son (probably son-in-law) Waite. See his will, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VIII, pp. 309–11.

There is some probability, therefore, that Rev. Nathaniel Ward and Joseph Hills, two persons who were prominent in compiling the laws of Massachusetts, were relatives by marriage. For an account of the services of Mr. Hills, see an able article by George H. Moore, Esq., in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. XIII, pp. 85–91. John Wayte of Charlestown village was also employed on the laws.

[3] The Harleian copy calls him "rector of Sproughton." Whether this was rejected by Candler in the revision because he found it to be untrue or because he considered it doubtful, we cannot say. There was a Joseph Waite, M. A., rector of Sproughton in Suffolk, who died June 29, 1670, and was interred July 1, "after 15 years of conscientious and eminently faithful discharge of the ministry" in that place. See inscription in Clarke's *Ipswich*, p. 354.

Davy, in his *Suffolk Collections*, gives the inscription on another stone at Sproughton: "Here resteth the body of Margaret, the relict of Jos. Waite obijt June 1675."

The first inscription shows clearly that Palmer is wrong in his account of the incumbent of Sproughton in the "second" (1803) edition of his *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. III, p. 287–8.

[4] The words "Towne preacher" are not in the Harleian copy.

APPENDIX II.

Will of Rev. John Ward of Bury St. Edmunds.

[Transcribed by Joseph L. Chester, Esq.]

In the name of God, Amen — The nynthe daie of October, One Thowsand Fyne Hundreth eightie nyne, Elizabethe Quadragesimo, I John Ward preacher of God's woord in Burye Ste Edmond in the countye of Suffolke, being verye weake in bodye, and yet of perfect Remembrance (Thanckes be to god therefore), doo ordaine my last will and Testament in maner, and forme following: Firste, I bequeath my soule into the handes of God my mercyfull father in Jesus Chryste, by whose pretious bloudshedding he hathe wasshed and saued me from all my synnes. And my bodye to be buryed where it shall please God. Item, I geue unto my yongest sonne John Ward, One hundred poundes of lawfull englishe money, To be payd vnto him when he shall accomplishe the full age of Twentye one yeares. I geue vnto Abigayle my daughter One hundred poundes of lyke money, To be payed vnto her at her full age of Eightene yeares — Item I geue vnto Marye my daughter, One hundred poundes of like money, To be lykewyse payd vnto her when shee shall accomplishe her full age of eightene yeares. Item, my will and mynde is, That yf anie of theis my said chilldren decease and depart this lyfe, before they and every of them accomplishe their said seuerall ages, Then the porcōn or porcōns of him or her so deceased shall remayne and be equally devided to the other twoo, or one then living. Item I geue vnto my sonne Samuell Ward All myBookes & Apparell. Item I geue vnto my sonne Nathanyell Ward sixescore poundes of lyke lawfull money to be payd vnto him when he shall accomplishe the full age of Twoo and Twentye yeares.[1] Item,

[1] Perhaps this number may have been in figures in the original, and the registrar may have mistaken twenty-one for twenty-two; for there is no apparent reason

I ordayne Susan my wyfe sole Executrix of this my last will and Testament. And my will is that within twoo monethes after my decease shee enter into sufficyent bond vnto my brother Edward Ward with suertye or suertyes for the performance of this my laste will, and education of all my said Chilldren vntyll they accomplishe their seuerall ages aboue menc̄oned. Prouided allwaies, and my will and minde is, that yf my said wyfe shall refuse to enter into suche bond with sufficient suerty as is afore sayde, Then as nowe, and nowe as then, I ordaine and make my said brother Edward Executor of this my said will. In witnes whereof I haue herevnto sett my hand and Seale the daye and yeare first aboue wrytten. John Ward. Sealed and subscrybed in y^e^ presence of Lawrence Neweman and John Woodd. Memorandum that theis woords (within twoo monethes after my decease) and (vnto my brother Edward Warde) were interlined before the sealing and signeing of this present will in their seu'all places and lines within wrytten in the presence of the witnesses within named.

(Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 31 October, 1598, by Anthony Callton, Notary Public, Proctor for Susan Ward, relict of the testator & the Executrix named in the Will).

[Recorded in Book called *Lewyn*, fol. 85.]

[Note by J. W. D.]

When Mr. Chester commenced his search for the will of Rev. John Ward, the nearest approach to fixing the date of his death was obtained from the fact that his widow was the wife of Richard Rogers, April 16, 1618,[1] which showed that his death must have occurred some time before. Rev. Mr. Hunter does not appear to have known even this; for, after some gratuitous remarks, he says: "He did not ..... take the course which so many other ministers of his description did of removing himself

why John should have his property at twenty-one, and Nathaniel not till he was twenty-two.

[1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xvi, p. 326.

to New England."[1] From this, it is evident that Mr. Hunter supposed he lived till after the settlement of New England.

Mr. Chester, "after a laborious search," found the will at Doctors' Commons. Some time after receiving a copy from him, we drew his attention to the discrepancy between the regnal and common year in the date of the will, and suggested that if the year of our Lord had been in arabic numerals instead of words, we should have supposed the position of the last two figures had been transposed, and that the true date was 1598 instead of 1589. We suggested that the original will might be in figures, and that in copying it, words may have been substituted for them. Mr. Chester was at Oxford, when our letter reached him. On his return to London, he wrote: "I have been able to find at Doctors' Commons the original will of John Ward. The signature is a wretched one, and the seal a mere lump of wax without any impression. The date is in figures, '1589,' and the year of Elizabeth's reign also in figures, '40.' In the Copy in the Registers these figures are written out in words. The error is clearly that of the scrivener who wrote the will or probably of his clerk who made a fair copy from his rough draught. The year should unquestionably be 1598 and not '1589,' for it is simply impossible that any man writing in 31st Elizabeth could have written 40th. The transcriber of the original will into the Register was bound of course to take the former as he found it. It is interesting to determine the exact date of John Ward's death; and you may safely assume that it was after the 9th and before the 31st of October, 1598."

That the date 1589 is an error, may also be inferred from the fact that Samuel is mentioned in the will in a way that conveys the idea that he was of age, whereas in that year he was only about twelve years old.

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. xxx, p. 167.

APPENDIX III.

Dedication of Samuel Ward's Life of Faith in Death.

[From the 1627 edition.]

To his deare and loving Mother:

I Honour Augustine much for honouring his Mother so much after her death, whose name and example had otherwise lyen in obscuritie. But I like better and wish rather to follow the pietie of Nazianzene, who gaue himselfe to the performance of all Christian Offices to his louing mother. God hath so blessed the former part of your life aboue the lot of most women, with two such able guides, as haue so stored you with Spirituall and Temporall furniture, that you need not the ayd of any of your children. Neuerthelesse, Grace and Nature will bee ascending and expressing themselues though in weak seruices. Reuben when he found but a few Flowers, must bring them to his Mother Leah. Esav, when he takes Venison gratifies his aged Father withall. Sampson findes honie by the way and presents of it to his parents. Here is a Posie gathered out of old and new Gardens; this sauory meate hath God brought to hand, here is sweete out of the strong. Let your soule eat and blesse. The vse and fruit of them I wish to euery beleeuer, especially in age and sickenesse: but the handsell and honor of them (if any bee) to your selfe, whom the Law of God and Nature binds mee to honour aboue others. Long may you liue to blesse your Children with your daily Prayers, especially your sonnes in that worke which needes much watering. Yet euery good Christian in yeares cannot but desire to be forewarned against death approaching, and that is the ayme of these endeauors. God prosper and blesse them, as the former; and send mee my part in the benefit of these (as hee hath done of them) in the time of vse.

Your Sonne in all dutie,
your loue and blessing, desirous of the birth-right of
Sa: Ward."

APPENDIX IV.

Rev. John Rogers of Dedham, Eng.

[From Firmin's *Real Christian*, pp. 75-6.]

Great sinners, and men of great parts, great spirits, whom God intends to make of great use, these are the men, the persons, who usually, if not always, meet with great bruisings, terrors, fears and sorrows.

Observe the workings of God, and you will find it so; those who read Mr. *Bolton's* life, will see my Position made good; no wonder though the Lord bruised him, and held him under as he did. Other Divines I might mention, but I shall instance in Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*. An old man that used in his young time to visit the house of Mr. *Richard Rogers* of *Wethersfield*, would tell me this story of him oftentimes, which my Grandmother, who was Wife to Mr. *Rogers*, told him several times; Mr. *Richard Rogers* did send and help to maintain Mr. *John Rogers* (being his Kinsman) in *Cambridge;* it seems he proved so bad, that he sold his Books and spent the money; my Grandmother moved her Husband to buy him some Books, and send him to *Cambridge* again; she being a prudent Woman prevailed; Mr. *John Rogers* spent his Books again; Mr. *Richard Rogers* then would cast him off utterly; but my Grandmother renews her request once more, and at last prevails to send him again; then he held: that he was wild enough I conclude from a speech of his own, which I mention not, and by a speech of Mr. *Richard Rogers*, which he often used, when he saw what God had done for his Kinsman. *I will never despair of a man for* John Roger's *sake*; it seems then he was bad enough. God intended this man to make him of great use, and a choice Instrument he was in God's hand for conversion of many Souls, few men like him; but God handled him accordingly, bruised him to purpose. He would get under bushes in

fields, pray and cry; became an experimental Preacher of legal workings, making good what Bishop (then Master) *Brownrig* said of him to my Father *Ward*, which was this, *John Rogers will do more good with his wild Note, than we shall do with our set Musick.* Those that knew his manner of preaching, and actings in preaching, well knew what the Bishop meant by the *wild Note;* but it was very true, though such actions and speeches in other men would have been ridiculous, yet in him, being a man so holy, grave and reverend, they went off with as much aw, upon a very great and reverent Auditory.

APPENDIX V.

Biographical Sketch of Rev. Samuel Ward, B.D., Town Preacher of Ipswich, England.

Rev. Samuel Ward, eldest son of Rev. John Ward, is said to have been born at Haverhill, while his father was minister there.[1] The inscription on his portrait represents him to have been in his forty-third year, in 1620, consequently he was born not far from 1577.[2]

A poem called the "Worthies of Haverhill," written by Mr. John Webb, thus introduces him:

> "Yet let not Science view this spot with scorn,
> For here the learned, the accomplished Ward was born!
> A zealous minister, a pious man;
> An humble, persecuted Puritan;
> Who the mild fascinating art possessed,
> To soften and subdue the hardened breast.
> Though vain Philosophy such worth despise,
> Yet he who 'winneth souls,' is truly wise." [3]

Samuel Ward was admitted a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, on Lady Margaret's foundation, on Lord Burghley's

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[1] Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. III, p. 186; Ryle's Memoir of S. Ward prefixed to his *Sermons and Treatises*, p. vi.

[2] Clarke's *Ipswich*, p. 344; Ryle's *Memoir*, p. xii.

[3] Clarke's *Ipswich*, p. 343.

nomination, November 6, 1594, and went out B.A. of that house in 1596. He was appointed one of the first Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, in 1599, commenced M.A., 1600, vacated his fellowship, in 1604, by marriage with Deborah Bolton, of Isleham, Cambridgeshire, widow, and proceeded B.D., 1607.[1]

After finishing his studies at the university, "he became lecturer at Haverhill, where his labors were eminently useful." [2] Rev. Mr. Ryle quotes the following as an interesting example of his success at Haverhill, from Clark's account of Rev. Samuel Fairclough, a famous Puritan minister of Kedington in Suffolk:

"God was pleased to begin a work of grace in the heart of Samuel Fairclough very early and betimes, by awakening his conscience by the terror of the law, and by bestowing a sincere repentance upon him thereby, and by working an effectual faith in him; and all this was done by the ministry of the word preached by Mr. Samuel Ward, then lecturer of Haverhill. Mr. Ward had answered for him in baptism, and had always a hearty love to him. Preaching one day on the conversion of Zaccheus, and discoursing upon his four-fold restitution in cases of rapine and extortion, Mr. Ward used that frequent expression, that no man can expect pardon from God of the wrong done to another's estate, except he make full restitution to the wronged person, if it may possibly be done. This was as a dart directed by the hand of God to the heart of young Fairclough, who, together with one John Trigg, afterwards a famous physician in London, had the very week before robbed the orchard of one Goodman Jude of that town, and had filled their pockets as well as their bellies with the fruit of a mellow pear tree.

"At and after sermon, young Fairclough mourned much, and had not any sleep all the night following; and, rising on the

[1] C. H. and Thompson Cooper, of Cambridge, Eng., in London *Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. XII, p. 126.

[2] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, p. 152.

Monday morning, he went to his companion Trigg and told him that he was going to Goodman Jude's, to carry him twelve pence by way of restitution for three pennyworth of pears of which he had wronged him. Trigg, fearing that if the thing were confessed to Jude, he would acquaint Robotham their master therewith, and that corporal correction would follow, did earnestly strive to divert the poor child from his purpose of restitution. But Fairclough replied that God would not pardon the sin except restitution were made. To which Trigg answered thus: 'Thou talkest like a fool, Sam; God will forgive us ten times, sooner than old Jude will forgive us once.' But our Samuel was of another mind, and therefore he goes on to Jude's house, and there told him his errand, and offered him a shilling, which Jude refusing (though he declared his forgiveness of the wrong), the youth's wound smarted so, that he could get no rest till he went to his spiritual father, Mr. Ward, and opened to him the whole state of his soul, both on account of this particular sin and many others, and most especially the sin of sins, the original sin and depravation of his nature. Mr. Ward received him with great affection and tenderness, and proved the good Samaritan to him, pouring wine and oil into his wounds, answering all his questions, satisfying his fears, and preaching Jesus to him so fully and effectually that he became a true and sincere convert, and dedicated and devoted himself to his Saviour and Redeemer all the days of his life after." [1]

"I think it right to remark," adds Mr. Ryle, "that Clark, in all probability, has erred in his *dates* in telling this story. He says that Fairclough was born in 1594, and that the event he has recorded took place when he was thirteen years old. Now, in 1607, Ward had ceased to be lecturer of Haverhill. Whether the explanation of this discrepancy is that Fairclough was born before 1694, or that he was only nine years old when he stole the pears, or that Ward was visiting at Haverhill in 1607 and preached during his visit, or that Fairclough was

[1] Ryle's *Memoir*, pp. vii–viii.

at school at Ipswich and not Haverhill, is a point that we have no means of deciding." [1]

From Haverhill, Mr. Ward removed to Ipswich, having been chosen by the corporation to the office of town preacher. Mr. John Wodderspoon of Norwich, Eng., in his *Memorials of Ipswich*, gives the date of his election, Nov. 1, 1603; but this is possibly a misprint for 1605. The tablet in the church of St. Mary le Tower, makes his ministry at that church, commence in the third year of the reign of James I,[2] which year began March 24, 1604–5. Mr. Ward, himself, in his answer before the high commission, Dec. 19, 1634, states that he had then been a "preacher of and for the town of Ipswich for thirty years last past or thereabouts." Mr. Wodderspoon's statement is:

"In the year 1603, on All-Saints' day, a man of considerable eminence was elected as preacher, Mr. Samuel Ward. The corporation appear to have treated him with great liberality, appointing an hundred marks as his stipend, and also allowing him £6 : 13 : 4, quarterly in addition, for house rent.

"The municipal authorities (possibly, because of obtaining so able a divine) declare very minutely, the terms of Mr. Ward's engagement. In his sickness or absence he is to provide for the supply of a minister at the usual place three times a week, 'as usual hath been.' 'He shall not be absent out of town above forty days in one year, without leave; and if he shall take a pastoral charge, his retainer by the corporation, is to be void. The pension granted to him is not to be charged on the foundation or hospital lands.'

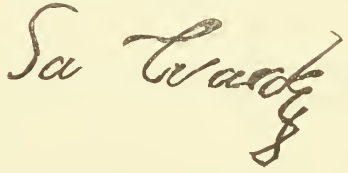
"In the seventh year of James I. the corporation purchased a house for the preacher, or rather for Mr. Ward. This house was bought by the town contributing £120, and the rest of the money was made up by free contributions, on the understanding that, when Mr. Ward ceased to be preacher, the building was to be resold, and the various sums collected returned to those who contributed, as well as the money advanced by the corporation.

[1] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. viii, note.
[2] Clarke's *Ipswich*, p. 343.

"In the eighth year of James I. the corporation increased the salary of Mr. Ward to £90 per annum, 'on account of the charges he is at by abiding here.'

"In the fourteenth year of James I. Mr. Samuel Ward's pension was increased from £90 to £100 yearly." [1]

There is a letter in the Bodleian library at Oxford, written by him November 29, 1620, to Sir Robert Crane, who was then, it appears, a candidate for Ipswich. It contains nothing particularly interesting in relation to his history. He concludes by tendering his service to Sir Robert and his lady.[2] A fac simile of his autograph signature to this letter is annexed.



A caricature print against Spain and Rome, published in 1621, caused him to be taken into custody, as will hereafter be seen. His preaching also being of a puritanic character, he was informed against according to Rev. Mr. Ryle, who adds: "After a short period spent in negotiation, Mr. Ward was restrained from officiating in his office. In 1623, August 6th, a record appears in the town books, to the effect that 'a letter from the king to inhibit Mr. Ward from preaching, is referred to the council of the town.'" [3]

It was probably about this time, or perhaps a few years later, that Mr. Ward uttered his facetious saying upon Rev. John Cotton, then of Boston, Lincolnshire: "Of all men in the world, I envy Mr. Cotton of Boston the most, for he doth nothing in the way of conformity, and yet hath his liberty, and I do everything that way and cannot enjoy mine." [4]

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[1] Wodderspoon's *Memorials of Ipswich*, quoted by Ryle, p. ix.
[2] Rev. T. W. Davids, quoting *Tanner Manuscripts*, ccxc, 37.
[3] Ryle's *Memoir*, pp. ix–x.
[4] Whiting's Memoir of Cotton in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*, pp. 246–7.

Brook gives some additional particulars of his prosecution: "He had," he says, "his foes as well as his friends, and was prosecuted by Bishop Harsnet for nonconformity. In the year 1622, upon his prosecution in the consistory of Norwich, he appealed from the bishop to the king, who committed the articles exhibited against him to the examination of the Lord Keeper Williams. The lord keeper reported that Mr. Ward was not altogether blameless, but a man easily to be won by fair dealing; and persuaded Bishop Harsnet to take his submission, and not remove him from Ipswich. The truth is, the lord keeper found that Mr. Ward possessed so much candor, and was so ready to promote the interests of the church, that he could do no less than compound the troubles of so learned and industrious a divine.[1] He was therefore released from the prosecution, and most probably continued for some time without molestation, in the peaceable exercise of his ministry.[2]

Mr. Ryle, after quoting the above from Brook, remarks that this writer might have "added a fact recorded by Hacket that Ward was so good a friend of the Church of England that he was the means of retaining several persons who were wavering about conformity within the pale of the Episcopal communion."[3]

In the British State Paper Office, there is a petition from him presented May 31, 1622, that as his majesty had promised to pardon his errors and restore him to his former liberties or otherwise provide for him, he might be allowed to preach in Ipswich meanwhile, or have his cause heard before the council.[4]

Mr. Ward's enemies continued to annoy him for some years after this. A friend[5] in England has sent us the following copy of a letter from him to Secretary Conway, dated Oct. 19, 1626:

"Worthy Sir: Whoever informed my Lds. grace of wrong done to him in y^r^ pulpit at Ipswich, did y^e^ Town a very ill

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[1] Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams* (ed. 1693), p. 95.
[2] Brook's *Puritans*, vol. II, p. 453.
[3] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. x.
[4] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1619–23, p. 399.
[5] Rev. T. W. Davids of Colchester.

office & my Lds. Gr^e^ no very good one, in my poore opinion; for myne owne parte I know my hart ever wished all hon^r^ & happines unto him, & therefore my tongue could never lett fall y^e^ lest irrespecting word, in y^e^ middest of vulgar rum^rs^. I ever prayed hartily for his prosperity w^h^ made me forbeare all apologye hitherto, & now for myselfe; only I confesse I have heard some mutterings & privy whispering, wherew^thall^ I acquainted M^r^. Nuttall, of a minister, a scholem^r^ rather, a man of meane note & y^e^ words so generall (as they came to my eares) & I hould too unfitt a thing for a person of many degrees my Lord's gr. inferiour, to take y^e^ least notice of y^e^ particular, only some malevolent neighbour was willing to leave some surmises & cast some aspersions ag^t^ y^e^ ministry in termes indefinite, y^t^ something might harme though little or nothing did. But y^e^ cause of my present writing was (not this whereunto my penne hath runne) but to intreat your favour & furtherance in the behalf of this gentleman, Mr. Blasse y^e^ bearer hereof, so would yo^r^ former love have made me to p^r^sume of yo^r^ readiness to gratify o^r^ Town in any their reasonable suite for w^h^ I doubt not but they will be respectfully thankfull & I shall rest ever more & more bounden to serve y^o^ in the Lord

SA. WARD."[1]

It has been supposed that he was the Mr. Ward, who with Rev. John Yates of Norwich,[2] informed against Rev. Richard Montague, afterward successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, for propagating the dangerous errors of Armenianism and Popery in his *New Gag for an Old Goose*, charging him with deserting the cause he had undertaken to defend. The archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the matter was referred by parliament, gave an admonition to Montague, which caused him to bring out his *Appello Cæsarem*.[3] Several books were

[1] Record office, Domestic Series, Charles I, xxxviii, 20.

[2] Neal calls them, "Mr. Ward and Mr. Yates, two ministers at Ipswich."— *History of the Puritans*, vol. III, p. 164.

[3] Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 137.

Mr. Chester has sent us a copy of the title page of Montague's second book,

printed in reply to the *Appello*, the authors of which are given by Rushworth,[1] Fuller,[2] Neal[3] and Blomefield.[4] Rushworth and Neal name a Mr. Ward among the authors, but Fuller and Blomefield do not. Brook states that Rev. Samuel Ward was "one of the most learned divines who wrote against Montague."[5] To end the controversy, a proclamation was issued January 17, 1638–9, suppressing Montague's books, and admonishing others to cease their discussions.[6] We are not quite satisfied that the informer against Montague was the subject of this notice. The earliest authorities that we have met with, only describes him as Mr. Ward of the diocese of Norwich, and there were then other clergymen of that name in this diocese, several of whom resided in the city of Norwich.

For several years he appears to have lived in comparative quiet;[7] but on the 4th of February, 1633–4, less than a year after his brother was deprived of his living of Stondon, a complaint against him was made to the new archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. The complainant, Henry Dade, was very active against the Puritans, and Prynne reports that at one time,[8] he excommunicated, in the name of the archbishop, the churchwardens of St. Mary-le-Tower, for not blotting out, at his command, this sentence: "It is written my house shall be called a house of prayer to all people, but ye have made it a den of thieves"—a text of Scripture, which, says the narrator, "is recorded by two prophets and three evangelists. (Isa. 56, 7; Jer. 7, 11; Mat. 21, 13; Mark 11, 17; Luke 19, 46)."[9]

"*Appello Cæsarem, a just Appeale from Two Unjust Informers.* By Richard Mountague. London, Printed for Matthew Lownes, 1625." Mr. Chester could ascertain from the book only that the informers were "Mr. Yates and Mr. Ward." He could find no reference to the parishes of which they were the incumbents.

[1] *Historical Collections*, vol. I, p. 635.

[2] *Church History*, book XI, p. 119.

[3] *History of the Puritans*, vol. II, p. 191.

[4] *History of Norfolk*, vol. III (London, 1806), p. 572.

[5] *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. III, p. 454.

[6] This proclamation is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. XIX, p. 26.

[7] Ryle says, "after eleven years of comparative quiet, Ward was prosecuted." See *Memoir of Ward*, p. X.

[8] "In September last," says the book, which was published in 1636, but whether before or after September, 1636, we do not know.

[9] *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*, p. 111. A curious pamphlet called

Mr. Dade, in the letter to Laud, after stating that there were then at Ipswich, from which place he was writing, two vessels filled with passengers for this country, adds, "Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, by preaching against the contents of the Book of Common Prayer, has caused this giddiness and desire to go to New England." [1]

He was brought before the court of high commission November 13, 1634, when he took the oath to answer to the articles and additionals, and was admonished to be examined before the next day.[2] The records of this tribunal preserved in the state paper office, contain frequent references to this case.[3]

There were forty-three articles objected to him by the commissioners of Causes ecclesiastical.[4] In his answer, December 19, 1634, he states that he was "a minister in holy orders of priesthood," and had been "preacher of or for the town of Ipswich for thirty years last past or thereabouts." He defended his views on the value and proper use of forms of prayer and of "occasional or conceived prayers," and of extemporary preaching. He asserted that he "always kneeleth or standeth when he cometh before or in time of divine prayers, otherwise attendeth on the public act in hand." He had always observed the "holidays these thirty years without omission." He explains some language used by him in a sermon, as having had allusion to "a vulgar, superstitious conceit" concerning Christmas "that whosoever works on any of the twelve days shall be lousy." He declared the Saviour to be present in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, "spiritually and virtually and to faith only." He had stated in relation to bowing to the east, that he

News from Ipswich, attributed to the same writer as this, William Prynne, has a slight mention of Mr. Ward, "but nothing to advance a knowledge of his biography."—*Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. XII, p. 379.

[1] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Colonial Series, 1574 – 1660, p. 174.

[2] Ibid., Domestic Series, 1644 – 5, p. 361.

[3] November 13, November 20, November 27 and December 19, 1634; January 29 and February 12, 1634 – 5; April 23, October 13, October 22, October 29, November 12 and November 26, 1635.

[4] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1644 – 5, p. 361.

knew no reason why divine adoration should be confined to one part of the world or the church than another. He also seems to have compared it to Cardinal Aldobrandini's ape. On the propriety, under the circumstances of the country, of emigration to New England, he had stated that "he was not of Tertullian's rigid opinion, but of our late learned Archbishop's milder judgment concerning the lawfulness of flight in persecution; yet rather commended such as stayed in their native country and mother church, which he thought and said to be the most flourishing national kingdom and church in the world, not knowing what God would incline and enable himself to do in case of trial, if any should happen." At another time he had said that "he was not of so melancholly a spirit, nor looked through so black spectacles, as he that wrote that religion stands on the tiptoes in this land looking westwards, nor feared their fear that feared an imminent departure of the Gospel." He had also expressed some opinion in favor of the ancient right of the churches to signify their assent to or acceptance of their ministers.[1]

Archbishop Laud, in his report to Charles I, January 2d, 1634–5, states that the bishop of Norwich [2] "hath lately heard complaint of Mr Warde of Ipswich, for some words uttered in sermons of his, for which he is now called before the high commission."[3]

Additional articles against him were admitted February 12, 1634–5;[4] and, after the case had been several times brought before the court, Henry Dade, before mentioned, commissary to the archdeacon of Suffolk, petitioned October 21, 1635, for a speedy decision of it. At the same meeting, Dr. Ryves, his majesty's advocate, who was counsel for the office, moved the court and alleged that Mr. Ward, by a former order of the court, was assigned to put in his defense; but the counsel of

[1] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1634–5, pp. 361–2.
[2] Richard Corbet was bishop of Norwich from April 7, 1602, to July 28, 1635.
[3] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. XIX, p. 590.
[4] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, *in loco*.

Mr. Ward, alleging that they had two witnesses, John Sicklemore [1] and Edward Morgan, whom they desired to be sworn, and the court thinking this reasonable, the witnesses were admitted and sworn, though objected to by Dade.[2]

On the 29th of October, it being alleged that Mr. Ward had procured copies of the evidence of the witnesses produced before Mr. John Sicklemore, the elder, was examined, it was ordered that Sicklemore's evidence should be suppressed.

A more full and perfect answer to the articles objected to him, was presented November 12, and a fortnight afterwards, November 26, 1635, his cause was decided. The court considered the following charges against him to be proved, namely: that in 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633 and 1634, Mr. Ward in some of his sermons, preached against set forms of prayer, saying that it was a confining of the spirit and would trouble a man to carry a Portassi for all occasions; that particularly on St. Thomas's day, 1635, he spoke against the forms for the visitation of the sick in that book, and said that they were more fit for popish times, for they first came from popery; that he was not in the habit of kneeling or shewing any sign of devotion when he came into his seat or pew in the church; that he preached disgracefully against bowing and other reverend gestures in the church, saying that a man may teach an ape or a bear to do it, that in November, 1633, he preached doubtfully concerning Christ's descent into hell; that, in 1630, he spoke disgracefully of a reverend bishop, and concerning the real presence in the sacrament; that he uttered speeches derogatory to the discipline and government of the church; that he insinuated that there was cause to fear a change of religion in the kingdom; that, in October, 1634, he delivered the opinion that all who bear office in the church or commonwealth ought to be elected by the people; that he spoke disgracefully of conformity to his Majesty's instructions concerning preaching and conformity; and that he

[1] A John Sicklemore was M. P. for Harwich in Richard Cromwell's first parliament. See Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 321.

[2] Extract from *British State Papers*, furnished by Rev. T. W. Davids.

preached by way of opposition to his majesty's declaration concerning recreations to be permitted on Sundays. All of this, partly out of the confessions, and partly out of the depositions, the court considered to be proved.[1]

By sentence of the court, he was removed from his lectureship, and suspended from the exercise of his ministerial functions, and every part thereof, as well there as elsewhere; condemned to stand suspended and silenced until his Majesty's pleasure; ordered to make public submission and recantation with acknowledgment of equivocation in his answers; condemned in costs of suit to be taxed next court day; and ordered to find bail in £200, that he will do all this.[2]

The state paper office contains the form of submission enjoined upon him; and also another form, probably one offered by Mr. Ward himself, in which he acknowledges that as things stood testified against him, the proceedings were just, and submits himself to censure.[3]

William Prynne states that he was imprisoned at this time. Concerning his treatment by Laud, that writer says:

"Mr. Samuel Ward of Ipswich, a most reverend, orthodox and learned Minister of speciall eminency, was by this Archbishop meanes on the 26 of Novemb. 1635 (as appeares by the High Commission Records), censured in the High Commission at Lambeth; and there suspended from his Lecture and Ministry, and every part thereof till absolved by his Majesty, enjoined a publike submission and recantation, such as the High Commissioners should prescribe, condemned in expences and costs of suite, and committed to prison; For preaching in some of his Sermons at Ipswich, against Bowing at the name of Iesus, the Booke of Sports on the Lord's day, and saying, that the Church of England was ready to ring the Changes, and insinuating into the Auditory, that there was cause to fear an Alteration of Religion; saying that Religion and the Gospel stood on tiptoes

[1] Extracts from *British State Papers*, furnished by Rev. T. W. Davids.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Calendar of British State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1634, p. 613.

ready to be gone ;[1] that divers of good Ministers were silenced, and that they should beware of a relapse into Popery. In this censure the Archbishop had the chiefest hand, as was proved by the High Commission Bookes, and Mr. Ward's Submission, which was drawn up by Sir Iohn Lambe and sent to this Archbishop, who endorsed it with his owne hand. This severe sentence utterly ruined this famous painfull preacher who lay long in prison, and soone after ended his dayes in great grief and sorrow." [2]

Brook remarks upon this : "It is observed that upon the censure of Mr. Ward, the Bishop of Norwich would have allowed his people another minister : but they would have Mr. Ward or none." [3]

How long he remained in prison is uncertain ; but it was probably less than two years. The place of his imprisonment was the Gate-house,[4] Westminster, within the walls of which, Sir Walter Raleigh spent the last night of his existence.[5] Here he probably wrote the *Magnetis Reductorium Theologicum Tropologicum*, which was dedicated to Charles I, and published in 1637 ;[6] it is certain, at least, that a portion of that work was written here, for the last chapter, which is in verse, was translated by John Vicars, and published on a broadside, in 1649, and this is stated in the title to have been composed in the Gate-house.[7]

Rev. Mr. Brook, confounding him with another clergyman of the same surname, says, that after his release, he fled from the storm and became the colleague of Rev. William Bridge at

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[1] It will be seen by his answer, December 19, 1634, that Mr. Ward only quoted this opinion to dissent from it. The saying has been attributed by some American authors to Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

[2] Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*, p. 361.

[3] Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. II, p. 453, citing Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. II, p. 301, and Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. I, p. 541.

[4] Broadside in British Museum, noticed below.

[5] Wright's *Continuation of Allen's History and Antiquities of London*, p. 265.

[6] See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XX, p. 255, for an account of this work by J. H. Sheppard, A.M.

[7] See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XXI, p. 77, for some remarks on this broadside.

Rotterdam.[1] But Mr. Bridge's colleague, was Rev. John Warde,[2] who had preached at Norwich before his removal to Holland,[3] but had returned as early as 1640, and was pastor of a church at Colchester.[4] It is not improbable, however, that Samuel Ward may have retired to Holland for a short time, as a person with both his names, on the removal of Isaac Forteric of Utrecht, to England, June 29, 1637, was chosen minister of the British church there.[5] The person chosen did not accept the office, however. If Mr. Ward left England, after his release from prison, he probably returned to his native country as early as 1638.[6]

Mr. Ryle, on the authority of Mr. Wodderspoon, states that, "in April, 1638, he purchased the house provided for him by the town, for £140, repaying the contributors the sum contributed by them."[7]

On the 15th of September, 1639, he sent the following submission to the archbishop:

"Whereas I, Samuel Ward, Clerk, have been heretofore convented & questioned before y^r hble. court for sundry speeches w^ch I was charged to have uttered in y^e pulpitt in my sermons, w^ch are deduced into articles ag^t me, whereupō sundry witnesses were p'duced & examined; & I therefore was admitted to my defence, & in a due & legal manner & way, & after a full & deliberate hearing, was pronounced guilty of sundry of y^m & suspencio^n from y^e execution of my ministerial Functio^s was therefore sentenced ag^t me; I do freely, without compulsio^n &

[1] *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. II, p. 153. Brook gives an account of the difficulty between Rev. Messrs. Bridge and Warde. See also Ryle's *Memoir of S. Ward*, p. xi; Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly*, p. 311, and Edwards's *Antapologia, passim*.

[2] Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 529.

[3] Edwards's *Antapologia*, p. 112.

[4] Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 329, 371. Rev. Mr. Davids finds this entry in the register of St. Botolph's church, Colchester: "Mr. John Ward, buried 12 May, 1644." This is, perhaps, the person mentioned in the text.

[5] Rev. Mr. Davids, quoting the appendix to Stephens's *History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1832), p. 339.

[6] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. xi.

[7] Ibid.

truly acknowledge (whatever my speech & mean'ge were), that as things stand, witnessed, & testified in Court ag^t. me; y^e proceedings of y^r hble. court, as also y^e sentence concluded ag^t me were just: & y^t I am heartily sorry y^t my said speeches were offensive to y^m or any other; y^t I am one y^t doe study & pray for ye peace of the Church of Engl'd, my true mother in Xt; & will ever to the utterm't of my poor ability & power to perceive & promote y^e same; avoid'g & eschew'g whatsoever may in any wise tend to y^e disturbance thereof.

Sa. Ward." [1]

Rev. Mr. Davids, who furnished to us the preceding submission, adds that he learns from a collection of extracts from the proceedings of the court of high commission, that the commissary who was employed against Ward could not get his money (£50) from Mottered, although Ward had paid it into his hands; and the commissary had to petition that he might get it. Laud ordered Mottered to give an account of himself.

The next month after his submission, October, 1639,[2] he made his will, and a few months after was gathered to his rest, having been buried in St. Mary le Tower, Ipswich, March 8, 1639–40.[3] Mr. Ryle gives an extract from a rare volume, printed in 1653, called, *The Tombstone; or a Notice and Imperfect Monument of that worthy man, Mr. John Carter, Pastor of Bramford and Belstead, in Suffolk*, to show the high esteem in which Ward was held in the neighborhood of Ipswich:

"In the afternoon, February 4, 1634, at my father's interring, there was a great confluence of people from all parts thereabout, ministers and others, taking up the word of Joash, King of Israel, 'O my father! my father! the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' Old Mr. Samuel Ward, *that famous divine, and the glory of Ipswich*, came to the funeral, brought a mourning gown with him, and offered very

[1] *Tanner Manuscripts* in Bodleian Library, cccclx, 41.
[2] See abstract, *post*.
[3] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. xii.

respectfully to preach the funeral sermon, seeing that such a congregation was gathered together, and upon such an occasion. But my sister and I durst not give way to it; for our father had often charged us in his lifetime, and upon his blessing, that no service should be at his burial. For, said he, 'it will give occasion to speak some good things of me that I deserve not, and so false things will be uttered in this pulpit.' Mr. Ward rested satisfied, and did forbear. But the next Friday, at Ipswich, he turned his whole lecture into a funeral sermon for my father, in which he did lament and honour him, to the great satisfaction of the whole auditory."

Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, speaking of his settlement as town preacher, says: "He was preferred minister *in* or rather *of* Ipswich, having a care over and a love from all the parishes in that populous place. Indeed he had a magnetic virtue (as if he had learned it of the loadstone, in whose qualities he was so knowing), to attract people's affections." [1] . . . He also informs us that he was "an excellent artist, linguist, divine and preacher. He had a sanctified fancy, dextrous in designing expressive pictures, representing much matter in a little model." [2]

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers records as note-worthy concerning him that he was in the habit of carrying about with him "his notes of the *Life of Faith*, with this title of Antoninus: *τὰ εἰς ἑμάυτον*;" [3] a fact which he himself states in the dedication of that work.

Several of his books have emblematic designs. These were probably drawn by him, as Fuller calls him an artist, and speaks of his "designing expressive pictures." The most deserving of notice, is that on the title page of his *Woe to Drunkards*, which consists of a leg in armor, and a mailed arm, the hand grasping a lance; between them an open book with the motto, "*Thus of Ould;*" beneath which is a leg decorated with bows

[1] Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. III, p. 186.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Manuscript Commonplace Book*.

and ribbons, and an arm dressed in fashionable attire holding a drinking cup and a pipe with smoke issuing from it, and between them cards and dice, with a motto, "*Thus now.*" At the bottom are the reversed words, "SHALL O" "MANERS·O" The devices on the title pages of the 1618 edition of *Balm from Gilead*, and the 1627 edition of *Christ All in All*, and the frontispiece of both editions of *Magnetis Reductorium*, &c., are also ingenious and expressive.

A satirical print is referred to in 1861, in the London *Notes and Queries*.[1] This print which was published in the reign of James I, is entitled, *Spayne and Rome Defeated*, and has in the corner these words, "Invented by Samuel Ward, Preacher of Ipswich."

John Bruce, Esq., in an article on *The Caricatures of Samuel Ward*, published in a late number of the same periodical (January 4, 1868), expresses the opinion that this was the only occasion on which Mr. Ward exercised his satirical talent upon a subject that may be termed political. He describes the print as representing "the Pope and his Council in the centre of the picture, and beneath on one side the Armada, and on the other the Gunpowder Treason." This description, Mr. Bruce gathers from *Notes and Queries* and elsewhere. "The print," says he, "was published in 1621, when Gondomar was in England as Spanish ambassador. He complained of it as insulting to his master; and Ward, whose name was engraved upon the print as the designer, was therefore sent for by a messenger. After examination by the council, he was remitted to the custody of the messenger. I have lately seen," continues Mr. Bruce, "two petitions of his, presented while he remained in custody, which have relation to this affair, and have never, I believe, been published. One of them gives some additional particulars respecting the history of his caricature, and both seem worthy of a place in *Notes and Queries*. The first was addressed to the council, apparently very shortly after Ward

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. XII, pp. 392, 440.

had been before them, and whilst he seems to have expected that there would be some proceedings against him in the Star-chamber :

"'*To the Right honorable the Lords of his Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.*

"'The humble Petition of Samuell Warde.

"'Whereas hee was charged with three Articles before your Lordships, whereunto hee hopeth hee hath given a satisfactorie answere, and doth in all things most humbly submit himselfe to your Lordships.

"'Hee doth in all submissive manner beseech your Lordships that he may be discharged from legall and expensive proceedings, and dismissed to the attendance of his charge, promising to be more cautelous for the future, and ever to pray to God,' &c.

"It was probably intimated to him in reply to this petition, that he had given special offence to his majesty, who deemed the publication of the caricature to be an endeavour to excite in the country an anti-Spanish feeling, and thus to thwart the royal policy, which at that time aimed at alliance and union with Spain. Ward then addressed King James in the following words :

"'*To the Kings most excellent Majesty.*

"'The Humble petition of Samuel Ward, committed for publishing the picture of '88 and November the 5th.

"'Humblie shewing that this embleme was by him composed, the english verses excepted, and some other addicion of the Printers, five yeeres since, in imitacion of auntient rights, gratefully preserving the memories of extraordinarie favors and deliverances in Coins, Arches, and such like monuments, sent nigh a yeere since to the printers, coupling the two grand blessings of God to this nation, which Divines daylie ioyne in their thanksgivings publique, without anie other sinister intencion, especiallie of meddling in any of your Majesties secrett

affaires: of which at the tyme of publishing, your petitioner was altogether ignorant, and yet heares nothing but by uncertaine reportes. As hee lookes for mercie of God and to bee partaker of your Royall clemency.

"· · May it therefore please your most excellent Majesty to accept of this declaration of your petitioners sincerity, and after his close and chargable restraint, to restore him againe to the exercise of his funccion, wherein your peticioner, as formerlie, will most faithfully and fervently recommend both your person and intencions to the speciall direccion and blessing of the KING OF KINGS.'

"The soft-hearted monarch," adds Mr. Bruce, "was probably mollified by this appeal. Ward was released, and returned to Ipswich." [1]

A year or two afterwards, Mr. Ward had the satisfaction of seeing the Spanish match broken off, and Prince Charles return from his romantic journey to Spain, an event which he celebrated by a sermon at Manningtree in Essex, October 9, 1623, four days after the prince's arrival in England. This sermon, which he entitled, *A Peace Offering to God*, was printed and dedicated to the king, whose clemency he had invoked in the above petition.

Two portraits of him are preserved. The first is an oil painting, three-quarter length,[2] representing him with ruff, peaked beard and mustaches; and an open book in his right hand. On one side is a coast beacon lighted; and the picture has this inscription: "Watche Warde. Ætatis suæ 43, 1620." [3] In 1853, it was in the possession of Mr. Raw, a retired bookseller,[4] and in 1861, in that of W. P. Hunt, Esq., solicitor, of Ipswich.[5]

The other portrait is a delicate drawing, in water colors,

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, vol. I, pp. 1-2.

[2] John Wodderspoon, in *Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. XII, p. 379.

[3] Clark's *Ipswich*, p. 344.

[4] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XVIII, p. 274. See also Clark's *Ipswich*, p. 344; and John Wodderspoon in *Notes and Queries*, *ubi supra*.

[5] John Wodderspoon in *Notes and Queries*, *ubi supra*.

in excellent preservation.[1] Mr. John Wodderspoon of Norwich, Eng., author of the *Memorials of Ipswich*, formerly owned it.[2] It afterwards belonged to Mr. W. S. Fitch, of Ipswich,[3] after whose death, Mr. Wodderspoon thinks it passed with his extensive collection of local portraits, into the possession of the West Suffolk Archæological Society and is preserved in the Athenæum at Bury St. Edmunds.[4]

There is a monument to his memory in the church of St. Mary le Tower, where he preached so many years; and a stone laid in his lifetime in the middle aisle, bears these words:

"Watch Warde, yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come."[5]

Mr. Chester has found the will of Rev. Samuel Ward, at Doctors' Commons, and has furnished us with the following abstract:

Samuell Warde the elder, of Ipswich, co. Suffolk, clerk — dated 19 Oct. 1639 — appt. my 2 sons Nathaniel and Joseph my Exors. and bequeath to them "all my books, all my loadstones, shells, papers, pictures and mappes," to be equally divided between them; also "all that money which doth belonge to mee uppon the howse where now I dwell scittuate in Ipswich aforesaid (which money was given by many Gentlemen and Townesmen my friends) to be equally divided between them & their heirs forever," "also all my lands & houses in Brickelsea, both free and copy-hold," to be equally divided between them, on condition that they pay to my wife Deborah & my eldest son Samuel Warde, each £20 per an. for their lives — to my mother 40*s.* pr. an. for life, to be pd. to her at her now dwelling house in Wethersfield — to my dau. Deborah my watch "and my faire English Bible, printed Anno 1633" — bedding, bedsteads & sundry household stuff to my Daughter Abigail after my wife's decease — my plate & wearing clothes to my sd. son

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. XII, p. 311.
[2] Ibid., p. 311.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 379.
[5] Clarke's *Ipswich*, p. 343.

Nathaniel —" my Greek Testament of Robert Stephens printe to my brother John Ward "— my best gloves to my son Robert Bolton — a Greek Testament to my son John Bolton — 20*s.* to my maid Margaret & 10*s.* to my servant John Boggas — to poor of pars. St. Mary Tower & St. Mary Key in Ipswich, each 20*s.*— to Mr. Robert Knappe "my auntient friend," a pair of gloves, or a book of 5*s.* value.

Signed in presence of Thomasine Willis.

Proved 24 Apl. 1640, by sd. sons and executors, Nathaniel and Joseph Ward. The latter is said to have made the necessary oath, &c., on the 20th March, preceding.[1]

Doddridge, in his *Lectures on Preaching*, in giving the characters of some of the principal practical writers among the Puritans, expresses a high opinion of the writings of Mr. Ward, observing that they are "worthy to be read through. His language," he continues, "is generally proper, elegant and nervous. His thoughts are well digested, and happily illustrated. He has many remarkable veins of wit. Many of the boldest figures of speech are to be found in him beyond any English writer; especially apostrophes, prosopopæias, dialoguisms and allegories. There is indeed a mixture of fancy in his writings; but pardonable, considering his youth, and that many of his sermons were not prepared by him for the press, but copied from his mouth while preaching. He died before he was twenty-eight years old. Had he lived he would probably have been the phœnix of British preachers." [2]

The statement that he was under twenty-eight when he died, is far from correct, for he lived till he was upwards of sixty. He had too, an opportunity, even in the sermons that were printed without his knowledge, to correct them before he died; as, during his lifetime, they all passed to at least a second edition, and one was reprinted several times.

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[1] C. P. C., Coventry 47.

[2] *Works of Rev. P. Doddridge, D.D.* (Leeds, 1802–4), vol. v, pp. 429–30. What is printed of the *Lectures on Preaching*, professes to be "only a pretty full *Syllabus* of what the author more or less enlarged upon."

Mr. Ryle, after giving Doddridge's opinion of Ward's literary merits, adds: "This praise may, at first sight, appear extravagant. I shall, however, be disappointed if those who take the trouble to read Ward's writings, do not think it well deserved." [1] The same author gives his own opinion of Mr. Ward as a writer, in these words:

"The *doctrine* of Ward's sermons is always thoroughly evangelical. He never falls into the extravagant language about repentance, which disfigures the writings of some of the Puritans. He never wearies us with the long supra-scriptural, systematic statements of theology, which darken the pages of others. He is always to the point, always about the main things in divinity, and generally sticks to his text. To exalt the Lord Jesus Christ as high as possible, to cast down man's pride, to expose the sinfulness of sin, to spread out broadly and fully the remedy of the gospel, to awaken the unconverted sinner and alarm him, to build up the true Christian and comfort him — these seem to have been objects which Ward proposed to himself in every sermon. And was he not right? Well would it be for the Churches if we had more preachers like him!

"The *style* of Ward's sermons is always eminently simple. Singularly rich in illustration — bringing every day life to bear continually on his subject — pressing into his Master's service the whole circle of human learning — borrowing figures and similes from every thing in creation — not afraid to use familiar language such as all could understand — framing his sentences in such a way that an ignorant man could easily follow him — bold, direct, fiery, dramatic, and speaking as if he feared none but God, he was just the man to arrest attention, and to keep it when arrested, to set men thinking, and to make them anxious to hear him again. Quaint he is undoubtedly in many of his sayings. But he preached in an age when all were quaint, and his quaintness probably struck no one as

[1] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. xiv.

remarkable. Faulty in taste he is no doubt. But there never was the popular preacher against whom the same charge was not laid. His faults, however, were as nothing compared to his excellencies. Once more I say, Well would it be for the churches if we had more preachers like him!

"The *language* of Ward's sermons ought not to be passed over without remark. I venture to say that, in few writings of the seventeenth century, will there be found so many curious, old-fashioned, and forcible words as in Ward's sermons. Some of these words are unhappily obsolete and unteligible to the multitude, to the grievous loss of English literature. Many of them will require explanatory foot-notes, in order to make them understood by the majority of readers.'"[1]

John H. Sheppard, A.M., librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in comparing the author's *Magnetis Reductorium* with his *Collection of Sermons*, thus writes: "A peculiar diction, a rich vein of thought, an exuberance of tropes and figures, especially a fondness for spiritualizing things earthly and evanescent, characterize each work."[2]

We have been unable to ascertain when Rev. Samuel Ward's first book was printed. From the preface to his *Balme from Gilead*, which was preached as a sermon, October 20, 1616, "at Pauls-Crosse," it would seem that this work was put to press soon after its delivery; and the 1618 edition of his *Coale from the Altar* is called the third.

The books themselves show that several of them were originally printed without the author's consent. Ambrose Wood states this of the *Coale from the Altar*, in an apology to the author prefixed to that work; Thomas Gataere states it of *Balme from Gilead* in its preface; and Nathaniel Ward, of *Jethro's Justice of Peace*, in a postscript to his brother. Mr. John Wodderspoon, of Norwich, Eng., author of *Memorials of Ipswich*, in a communication to *Notes and Queries*, November 9, 1861, states that a later work by Rev. Samuel Ward, namely,

[1] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. xv.
[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xx, p. 259.

"*A Peace Offering to God*, a thanksgiving sermon on Prince Charles's return, preached October 9, 1623, was originally published by his brother Nathaniel." [1]

The following is as complete a list of his publications as we have been able to obtain :

1. "*A Coale from the Altar to kindle the holy fire of Zeale.* In a Sermon preached at a generall Visitation at Ipswich. By Sam. Ward, Bach. of Diuinity. The third Edition corrected and amended. Θεῷ καὶ ὑμῖν." The rest of the title page is torn off. The date is probably 1618. Pp. 7*a*. and 81. Prefixed is an apology to the author, signed "Ambrose Wood."

A volume containing this and the two following works, with no general title page and each work separately paged, is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A similar volume formerly belonged to the American Antiquarian Society, but is now lost.

The fifth edition has the same title as far as the author's name, then : "By Sam. Ward, Preacher of Ipswich. The fift edition corrected and amended. Θεῷ καὶ ὑμῖν, [emblematic device]. London, printed by Miles Flesher for Iohn Grismand in Ivie Lane at the signe of the Gun. 1627." Pp. 10*a*. and 86.

2. "*Balme from Gilead To Recouer Conscience.* In a Sermon Preached at Pauls-Crosse, Octob. 20, 1616 By Samuel Ward Bach. of Diuinitie and Preacher of Ipswich. [Emblematic device.] Printed at London, by T. S., for Roger Iackson and William Bladen, and are to be sold neare the Conduit in Fleet-street, and at the signe of the Bible at the great North-doore of Pauls. 1618." Pp. 6*a*. and 85. A preface "To the Reader," signed. "Thomas Gataere."

A later edition has the same title as far as the device, which is changed, then : "London, Printed by G. M. for William Sheffard. 1628." Pp. 8*a*. and 85.

3. "*Iethro's Iustice of Peace.* A Sermon preached at a generall Assises held at Bvry St. Edmunds for the Countie of

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 2d series, vol. xii, p. 379.

Suffolke. By Samuel Ward, Batchelour of Diuinitie. London, Printed by Edw. Griffin for Iohn Marriot and are to bee sold at his shop, at the signe of the white Flower-de-luce neere Fetter-lane end in Fleet-street. 1618." Pp. 4*u*. and 72. This contains a dedication to Sir Francis Bacon, and, at the end, an epistle to "my louing Brother, M^r^ Samuel Ward," both signed, "Nath. Ward."

A later edition has the same title except the imprint, which is: "London, Printed by Miles Flesher for Iohn Grismand in Ivie Lane at the signe of the Gun. 1627. Pp. 6*u* and 72.

4. *Christ All in All.* Pp. 8*u* and 45. A curious emblematic title page with no imprint on it. At the foot of p. 45 is this: "London, Printed by Miles Flesher for Iohn Grismand, at the signe of the Gun, in Ivie Lane. 1627." Dedicated, "To the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Iesus Christ;" unsigned.

5. "*The Life of Faith.* By Samvel Ward, Preacher of Ipswich, London. Printed by Miles Flesher for Iohn Grismand, in Ivie Lane at the signe of the Gun. 1627." Pp. 12*u* and 110. Dedicated by "Samuel Ward" to "Thomas Earle of Suffolke."

6. *The Life of Faith in Death.* Exemplified in the liuing Speeches of Dying Christians. By Samvel Ward, Preacher of Ipswich. London, Printed by Miles Flesher for Iohn Grismand, in Ivie Lane, at the signe of the Gun. 1627." Pp. 6*u* 126. Dedicated "To his Deare and Loving Mother;" signed, "Sa: Ward."

7. "*A Peace Offering to God.* For the blessing we enioy vnder his Maiesties reigne with Thanksgiuing for the Prince's safe returne on Sunday, the 5. of October 1623. In a Sermon preached at Manitree in Essex on Thursday the 9. of October, next after his Highnesse happy arriuall. By Samvel Ward of Ipswich. London, Printed for Iohn Grismond." No date; pp. 8*u* and 55. Dedicated, "To The Kings Most Sacred Maiestie;" signed, "Sam. Ward."

8. "*Woe to Drvnkards.* A Sermon by Samvel Ward,

Preacher of Ipswich. [Emblematic device.] London, Printed by A. Math for Iohn Marriott and Iohn Grismand, and are to be sold at their Shops in St. Dunston's Churchyard, and in Pauls Alley at the Signe of the Gunne. 1624." Pp. 51.

A later edition has the same title except the imprint, which is: "London, Printed for Iohn Grismand. 1627." Pp. 53.

9. "*The Happiness of Practice.* By Samvel Ward, Bachelor in Diuinitie and Preacher of Ipswich. London, Printed by Miles Flesher for John Grismand in Ivie Lane at the signe of the Gun. 1627." Pp. 6*a* and 49. A dedication "To the Worshipfvll, the Bailifes Bvrgers and Commonaltie of the Towne of Ipswich," signed "Samuel Ward." In it he says: "One halfe of the Scriptures I haue handled among you." At the end of the work is, "A Postscript" of two pages signed, "Sa. Ward."

The preceding nine works are all in small octavo.

10. A Collection of svch Sermons and Treatises as haue beene written and published By Mr Samvel Ward, Preacher of Ipswich, Are here gathered into one Volume. The Titles whereof are in the next page following. London, Printed by M. F. for Iohn Grismand, and are to bee sold at his shop in Ivie Lane, at the Signe of the Gun. 1627."

The next leaf contains the titles of the preceding nine works in this order: 1. *Christ is All in All;* 2. *The Life of Faith;* 3. *The Life of Faith in Death;* 4. *A Coal from the Altar;* 5. *Balm from Gilead;* 6. *Jethro's Justice of Peace;* 7. *A Peace Offering to God;* 8. *Woe to Drunkards;* 9. *The happiness of Practice.* This is a collection of separate publications apparently printed at different times. It contains all the preceding works, namely, the 1628 edition of No. 2, the edition without date of No. 7, and the 1627 editions of the others.

A volume was published nine years afterwards with the same title, except that "*Bachelor of Divinity* and" is inserted after the author's name, and the imprint is changed to, "London, Printed for John Grismond and are to sold in Ivie Lane at the Signe of the Gunne, 1636." It is an 8vo, with

"a curious wood engraved frontispiece," and is noticed in the London *Notes and Queries*, October 19, 1861, 2d series, xii, 311. contains the same works arranged in the same order.

The volume was again reprinted in a modern octavo, a few years ago, under the the title; "Sermons and Treatises by Samuel Ward, B. D., Sidney Sussex Col. Cambridge; Preacher of Ipswich. With Memoir by the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Christ Church, Oxford; Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk. (Reprinted from the Edition of 1636). Edinburgh: James Nichol; London: James Nisbet and Co.; Dublin: W. Robertson, M.DCCC.LXII."

10. "*Magnetis Redvctorivm Thelogicvm Tropologicum.* In quo ejus novVs verVs et sVpreMVs VsVs InDICatVr. Si sileāt homines lapides tua facta loquētur Saxaqꝫ dura virûm ferrea corda trahent. Londini, Impensis, A.M., 1637." Small 8vo, pp. 162.

The capitals in *Novus verus*, etc., form a chronogram of the year of publication, 1637. The verses of the title contains a license to print signed, "Tho. Wykes, R.P., Ep. Lond. Cap. Domest.," and dated June 5, 1637. There is a preface, signed, "S. W.," and a dedication to King Charles, signed, "S. Ward." The book has an emblematic frontispiece. The authorship of it has been conjecturally attributed [1] to Rev. Samuel Ward, D.D., Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; but it is satisfactorily proved to have been written by the subject of this notice.[2]

An edition somewhat enlarged, small 8vo, pp. 166, with the same title, except the imprint, was published two years after. The imprint is: "Londini, Typis I. L. Impensis Ph. Stephani & Ch. Meredith, sub aureo Leone in Cœmeterio Paulino, M.DC.XXXIX." The chronogramatic date, 1637, on the title page, and the license on its verso, are retained in this edition.

We find in Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*, the title of a work which we suppose to be by him, viz: "*The Wonders of the Loadstone*, by Samuel Ward, 1640." Perhaps it is an English translation of the preceding work.

[1] Ryle's *Memoir*, p. ix, *note*.

[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xxi, p. 77.

Rev. Mr. Davids has sent us the following title of a folio broadside, dated August 3, 1649, in the British Museum: "A most elegant and Religious Rapture, composed by Mr. Samuel Ward (that sometime famous and pious minister at Ipswich), during his Episcopall Imprisonment in the Gate-House, and by him dedicated to Charles I. Now most exactly Englished by John Vicars." This is a translation of the last chapter of the *Magnetis Reductorium Theologicum, etc.*

The Latin original and English translation are printed in parallel columns. On the same sheet is another poem from that work, entitled, *Votum Magneticum*, with a translation, printed like the preceding, in parallel columns.

APPENDIX VI.

Biographical Notice of Rev. John Ward, Rector of St. Clement's, Ipswich.

Rev. John Ward was the youngest son [1] of Rev. John Ward of Haverhill and Bury St. Edmunds. He was born about 1594,[2] four years before his father's death. He was instituted as rector[3] of Dennington, in Suffolk, June 29, 1624, being then A.M.,[4] on the death of Robert Wright, the successor of William Falke.[5] He had previously been licensed to preach throughout the diocese.[6] He continued to sign the town book, till 1636, and was ejected, on pretence of simony, January 14, 1638.[7] "One

[1] Will of Rev. John Ward of Haverhill, see Appendix II.

[2] Inscription at St. Clement's Church, Ipswich.

There was a John Ward of Christ's Church College, Cambridge, who took the degree of A.B. in 1609; but unless there is an error in the inscription above referred to, he was probably not the subject of this notice.

[3] Candler.

[4] Extracts from *Episcopal Register at Norwich*, furnished by Rev. T. W. Davids.

[5] *Prelections upon the Sacred and Holy Revelations*, written in Latin, by Dr. William Falke, translated by George Gyfford of Malden, were published in 8vo, in London, 1573. Davids's *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, p. 118.

[6] *Extracts from Episcopal Register at Norwich.*

[7] Rev. T. W. Davids, quoting Davy's *Collections for the County of Suffolk*, in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 19,091.

of the charges against Archbishop Laud, on his Trial in 1643, was that he procured a presentation of a living from the king, whereof Mr. Ward was incumbent, under pretence that it had lapsed to the crown by simony; and that after sentence had passed against Mr. Ward in the Ecclesiastical Court, His grace sent to the Bishop of Norwich to admit the King's Clerk, and that a *Ne admittas* being obtained, a letter was sent by the High Commission to the Judges to revoke it, and that afterwards upon a Tryal at law in *quare impedit* the King was found to have no right." [1]

According to Candler, Mr. Ward was, after leaving Dennington, "a Preacher in Bury, and lastly Rector of St. Clement's parish in Ipswich." [2] The date of his removal to Ipswich, we have not learned; but it was before March 26, 1645, when he preached before the house of commons.[3] He was then a member of the Westminster assembly,[4] being one of the "superadded divines" of that body,[5] in which he "gave constant attendance." [6]

He preached a sermon before the house of commons, March 26, 1645, and one before the house of lords, the 22d of the following July, both of which were printed. A copy of the former is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Its title is:

"*God Iudging among the Gods*, Opened in a Sermon before the Honovrable Hovse of Commons, Assembled in Parliament upon the Solemn day of Monethly Fast, March 26, 1645. By Iohn Ward, Minister of the Gospel in Ipswich, and a Member of the Assembly of Divines. Psal. 22, 28. The Kingdom..... Nations. Published by Order of that House. London, Printed by I. L., for Christopher Meridith, at the Crane in Pauls churchyard, 1645." 4to, pp. 60.

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[1] Rev. Mr. Davids, from Davy's *Suffolk Collections*, quoting *Trials for High Treason*, London, 8vo, 1720, I, 307.

[2] *Tanner Manuscripts*, 180 in Bodleian library, Oxford, copied by Mr. Chester.

[3] Title page of *God Judging among the Gods*.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (New York, 1843), p. 98; Neal's *Puritans*, vol. III, p. 80.

[6] Neal's *Puritans*, vol. III. pp. 77 and 80.

We find this abstract of the title of the other sermon:

"Ward, John. Thanksgiving Sermon before the House of Lords, July 22, 1645, on account of the success of the Parliament Forces of the West. 4to, London."

Rev. Mr. Davids furnishes us with this title of a sermon by John Ward: "The good will of him that dwelt in the Bush, a discourse to the Long Parliament, 1645." Perhaps it is the same as the preceding sermon to the lords, July 22, 1645.

The following extract from a manuscript collection relating to Suffolk, during the commonwealth period, is printed in Willis's *Current Notes for October*, 1856, page 86:

"St. Clements, Ipswich.—The present rector is Mr. John Ward, brother of Mr. Samuel Ward, sometime there Tower [Town] preacher. He married Lydia, sister of John Acton, Esq., of Bramford, Gent. His estate as minister of St. Clements, by his wife, his owne lands and otherwise, *viis et modis*, is thought worth 400*l.* per annum."

The same work quotes "a later edition," as follows: "There is since a handsome monument of alabaster against the walls, set up by Thomas Essington, Esq., and Anne, his wife, to preserve the memory of John Ward, minister there.

M^æ S^m

Conditur in isto Sacrario quod exuerat mortale
JOHANNIS WARD,
ipso cognomine laudatus quod et præstitit
inter fratres symmystas (τοῦς παλαὶ μαχαριτας)
nasi natu, haud cætera postremus. Qui cum pastorali
munere hoc loci supra vicennium, Simul
functus est fato, April 18° an° 1661, æt. 67.
Καὶ δὶ αυτῆς ἀποθανὼν ἔτι λαλεῖται *Heb.* 11.
juxti et positi
Cineres piissimæ (quam præmiserat biennii
fere spatio) conjugis Lydiæ fœminæ ut
familia amplissima, ita se magis spectatæ
Ex cruce Flores.
Arms: Niger, a Maltese cross or."

APPENDIX VII.

Verses on Prince Rupert's Shoes.

[From *England's Worthies*, 1684, by William Winstanley, pp. 649–50.]

One who had formerly been a servant to her highness [Elizabeth of Bohemia], travelling to Prague in Bohemia, to present his service to his Royal Mistress, thus writes of him: Moreover then I saw (and had in my arms) the King and Queen's youngest Son, Prince Rupert, who was born here the 16 of December last (he reckons a day sooner than our account), a goodly child as ever I saw of that age, whom with the rest I pray God to bless, to his glory and his Parents joy and comfort.

There for a token I did think it meet,
To take the Shooes from off this Princes Feet:
I do not say I stole, but I did take,
And whilest I live, He keep them for his sake:
Long may his Grace live to be styl'd a Man,
And then He steal his Boots too, if I can.
The Shooes were upright Shooes, and so was he
That wore them, from all harm upright and free;
He us'd them for their use, and not for pride;
He never wrong'd them, or ere trod aside.
Lambskin they were, as white as Innocence,
(True patterns for the footsteps of a Prince),
And time will come (as I do hope in God)
He that in Childhood with these Shooes was shod,
Shall with his manly Feet once trample down
All Antichristian foes to his renown.

[The above is not in the 1660 edition.]

APPENDIX VIII.

Lines on the Wards, by Edward Johnson.

[From the *Wonder Working Providence*, pp. 67 and 197.]

1. *On Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich.*

Thou ancient Sage come Ward among
Christ's folke, take part in this great worke of his
Why do'st thou stand and gaze about so long;
Do'st war in jest, why, Christ in earnest is,
And hath thee arm'd with weapons for that end,
To wound and heale his enemies submitting.
Not carnally, then to his worke attend:
Thou hast prevail'd the hearts of many hitting.
Although the Presbytery unpleasant jar,
And errors daily in their braines new coyne:
Despayer not, Christs truth they shall not mar;
But with his helpe such drosse from Gold refine.
What Man do'st meane to lay thy Trumpet downe?
Because thy son like Warrier is become,
Hold out or sure less bright will be thy crowne,
Till death Christs servants labour is not done.

2. *On Rev. John Ward of Haverhill.*

With mind resolv'd run out thy race at length,
Young Ward begin whereas thy father left,
Left hath he not, but breaths for further strength
Nor thou, nor he, are yet of hope bereft:
Fruit of thy labours thou shalt see so much,
The righteous shall hear of it, and rejoyce.
When Babel falls by Christ's almighty touch,
All's folk shall praise him with a cheerful voice.
They prosper shall that Sions building mind,
Then Ward cease not with toyl her stones to lay,
For great is he thee to this work assign'd,
Whose pleasure is, heavens Crown shall be thy pay.

APPENDIX IX.

Deed of Rev. Nathaniel Ward to John Eaton.

[From Pulsifer's edition of the *Simple Cobbler.*]

November 25° i646.

This p^rsent writing wittnesseth that I, Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich in New England have bargained & sould to John Eaton of Salsbury Coo^p all the land ground meadow & Comonage w^th their app^rtin e s which I have or ought to have at this p^rsent Day in Haverhill or Pentuckett in New England **to have and to hold** the said p^rmisses to the said John Eaton his heires & assignes paying for the same vnto the said Nathaniel Ward his executo^rs administr^s or assignes the full sume of twelve pounds of wheate & pipe-staves six pounds worth of one & six pounds worth of the other to be deliu'ed to m^r Richard Russell or Maior Sedgwick at Charles Towne before the end of September Next ensuying the Dat hereof; such as shalbe good & merchantable at the currant price at that tyme & place

In wittnesse whereof I have set to my hand & seale.

Nath Ward

Wittnes
Thomas Howlett
Edman Bridges

APPENDIX X.

Titles of Rev. Nathaniel Ward's Publications With Bibliographical Notes.

1. Works known to be by Mr. Ward.

The | *Simple Cobler* | *of* | *Aggavvam in America.* | Willing To help 'mend his Native Country, la | mentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather | and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take. | And as willing never to bee paid for his work, | by Old English wonted pay. | *It is his Trade to patch all the year long*, gratis. | Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep back your purses. | — | By *Theodore de la Guard.* | — | *In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima quæque consilia tutissima sunt.* Cic. | In English. |

> When bootes and shoes are torne up to the lefts,
> Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts,
> This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm:*
> *Ne sutor quidem ultra crepidam.*

| — | London, | Printed by John Dever & Robert Ibbitson for Stephen Bowtell, at the | signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

The *first edition*, of which the above is a copy of the title page, is a foolscap quarto, and contains 80 pages.

The *second edition* is of the same size as the first, and contains the same number of pages. It has the same title page, the size of type and arrangement being the same in both, except the last two lines which read:

"Printed by J. D. & R. I., for Stephen Bowtell at the signe of the | Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647;" initials being substituted for the full names of the printers, thereby making a change in the division of the lines necessary.

Other changes are made in the book. A different head-piece is used on the unpaged leaf, following the title, containing the address, "To the | Reader:" and the heading of page 1, which in the first edition reads: *The* | *Simple Cobler* | *of* | *Aggavvam in America*, in this reads:

Sutor | *ultra crepidam.* This heading is retained in all the subsequent London editions, and in all the American editions except Mr. Pulsifer's.

A paragraph is added on page 8, and marginal notes on pages 11 and 43. Seven verses, styled by the author, "Hobnailes," which, in the first edition close the work, are in this edition transposed and placed before the "*Errata at non Corrigenda.*" Other additions and corrections of more or less importance, are made in various parts of the book. Similar corrections are scattered through the later London editions, but only the larger ones will be noted.

The *third edition* is of the same size and number of pages as the first and second. The title page agrees with the second, except, 1, in in the fourth line "Aggavvam" is spelled "Aggavvamm;" 2. the rule between the twelfth and thirteenth lines is omitted; and 3, after the thirteenth line which gives the pseudonym of the author, this line is inserted: "The Third Edition with some Additions."

The principal changes in the body of the work, are the addition of two paragraphs commencing on page 11, and one paragraph on page 28.

The *fourth edition* has the same title page as the third, except the fourteenth line which reads: "The Fourth Edition with some Amendments." It is a cap 4to, like the previous edition, but is enlarged to 89 pages.

Three paragraphs are added in this edition on page 12, three paragraphs on pages 29–30, a marginal note on page 63, and two paragraphs on pages 63–4. Three articles also are added, following the article headed, "A Word to Ireland," namely, "A word of Love," etc.; "A most humble heel-piece," etc.; and "A respective Word," etc.

These four editions are all that are known to have been published during the author's life-time; and no subsequent edition has probably been printed in England. We have given the requisite information to distinguish the different editions where the copies are perfect. Copies, however, may be in existence, where the beginning has been lost. In such cases, by turning to page 31, the edition may be ascertained; as in the first edition that page commences, "compasse of my consideration;" in the second edition, it commences, "Foure meanes there are;" in the third it begins, "over the Sea;" and in the fourth it begins, "sand of the Trade."

The | *Simple Cobler* | *of* | *Aggawam in America* | willing | To help Mend his Native Country, | lamentably tattered both in the upper | Leather and sole, with all the honest | stitches he

can take. | And as willing never to be paid for his | work in Old English wonted pay. | It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis. | Therefore | I Pray Gentlemen keep your Purses. | — | By Theodore de la Guard. | — | The Fifth Edition, with some Amendments. | — | *In rebus ..... fortissima | quæque ..... sunt.* Cic. | In English | When ..... lefts | Coblers ..... hefts | This ..... gramm | *Ne ..... crepidam.* | — | London, Printed by J D. and R. I. Reprinted at | Boston in N. England for Daniel Henchman, at his | Shop in King street, 1713.

This is a reprint of the fourth London edition, changing the edition and imprint on the title page, and adding, at the end of the book, a poetical "Postscript," signed "Jerome Bellamie." We have not found this postscript in any of the editions known to be published during the author's lifetime. The book is a cap 8vo, of 100 pages.

It is the first American edition that we have met with; though Rev. Alexander Young, in his *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 113, states that there was an edition printed in Boston, in 1686; or more than a quarter of a century previous. We think this must be a mistake; for no book collector that we have consulted has seen such an edition, or met with any other reference to it.

The | *Simple Cobler* | *of* | *Aggawam in America.* | By | Rev. Nathaniel Ward. | — | Edited by David Pulsifer | — | Boston: | James Munroe and Company. | 1843. | Medium 12mo, pp. vi and 96.

This edition is a reprint of the 1713 edition, collated with a copy of the first edition belonging to the Salem Athenæum, and a copy of the second edition, belonging to Mr. Drake. The title page reprinted, is that of the second edition.

Mr. Pulsifer has since become better known to historical students, as editor of the *Plymouth Colony Records*, published by the commonwealth of Massachusetts. To this edition of the *Simple Cobler*, he has added a "Notice of the Author," four pages; a bibliographical "Note," one page; and an "Appendix," four pages.

In 1866, Mr. Pulsifer, having a number of copies of this edition remaining on hand, unsold, canceled the title page containing his own name as editor, and substituted in its place, a title page, printed

in old style type, which was a *verbatim* copy of that of the second edition.

The next edition appeared in 1844, in Force's *Collection of Historical Tracts*, vol. III; and is a medium 8vo, of 58 pages. It is a reprint of the Boston edition of 1713. In the title page, lines six to eleven, are divided differently; and the imprint is: "London: Printed by J. D. and R. I., for Stephen Bowtell, at | the Sign of the Bible in Popes Head Alley, 1647. Re- | printed at Boston in N. England, for Daniel Henchman | at his Shop in King Street, 1713;" otherwise the title page is an enlarged copy of that in the 1713 edition. Perhaps the imprint of the 1713 edition was not uniform.

A Sermon | Preached | Before the Honourable House | of | Commons | At their late Monethly Fast, being on | Wednesday June 30. 1647. | — | By Nathaniel Ward Minister of Gods Word. | ❁ | — | London, | Printed by R. I., for Stephen Bowtell at the signe | of the Bible in Popes head Alley, | 1647. Foolscap 4to.

On the verso of the title is an address headed, "The Bookseller to the Reader," signed "Thine, S. B.," stating that the sermon was printed without the knowledge or consent of the author, to prevent the printing of false copies which were understood to be abroad. Then follows "A | Letter | To some Friends," 4 pp. without pagination, signed "Nath. Ward," which letter accompanied the copy furnished his friends; after which is the sermon itself, pp. 1 to 27.

The copy of this tract among the king's pamphlets in the British Museum, Mr. Chester informs us, has no manuscript date. There is a copy of a later edition (1649) in the New York State Library, at Albany. We have not compared the two editions together, but Henry A. Homes, Esq., of that library, has compared the 1649 edition with memoranda of the 1647 edition which we furnished. The two editions seem to agree in matter and paging. Mr. Homes writes of the Albany copy, that "the title-page is identical in form of arrangement with that of the edition of 1647, except that after 'Bowtell,' follows: 'and VVilliam | Bishop at the signe of the Bible in Popes- | head Alley, MDCIL." The tract was evidently reset, and not a reissue of the former edition, as the half title on page 1, in this edition gives the date of the Sermon, "*Wed.* June 30, 1648," whereas in the former edition it is given correctly, "*Wednesday, June* 30, 1647."

"*A Sermon at a Fast, by Mr. Nath. Ward,*" is found in a list of "Books printed, and are to be sold by Adoniram Byfield, at the Bible in Popes-head Alley, near Lumbard street," appended to "Moses his

Death; a Sermon at the Funeral Sermon of Mr. Edward Bright, M.A., by Samuel Jacombe, M.A. London, Adoniram Byfield, 1657." We presume this is the work whose title is given above.

A Religious Retreat | Sounded | to a Religious Army. | By one that desires to be faithful to | his Country, though unworthy | to be named | *Bonus Civis initia belli Civilis invitus* | *suscipit, extrema non libenter perse* | *quitur.* Cic. | — | ❁ | — | London, Printed for Stephen Bowtell, at the Bible in | Popeshead Alley. 1647. Foolscap 4to, pp. 13.

A copy of this which formerly belonged to Samuel G. Drake, Esq., of Boston, contained the Latin autograph of Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, "Crescentius Matherus, 1657, Dublin." On the title page, Rev. Dr. Mather had written, "Nath. Ward, Author."

A copy, also, belongs to the Prince library. On the verso of the title of this copy, are the following remarks in the well known autograph of Rev. Thomas Prince:

"For ye author of this — It seems to be N. Ward.

"1. ye Principles seem to be like His, as expressed in his Serm. bef. ye Parliam^t & Simple Cobler.

"2. ye style & manner of expression are like his as in yes two pamphlets.

"3. ye year of Publishing & ye Bookseller are ye same with ye other two.

"4. ye *marked places* in ye *Reply* to Mr. *Peters's Answr* to this seem plainly to point out Mr. Ward, p. 3, 7, 10, 26, 27, 28, 29."

As Mr. Mather assigns the work to Mr. Ward without qualification, we see no reason to doubt its being his. The marked passages in the *reply to Mr. Peters,* above referred to, will be given under the title of that work. Mr. Thomason's manuscript date on this pamphlet is, "Aug. 27," 1647.

"To the | High and Honourable | Parliament | of | England | Now Assembled at | Westminster | The Humble Petitions, Serious Suggesti- | ons, and dutifull Expostulations of some | moderate and loyall Gentlemen, Yeomen | and Freeholders of the Easterne Association. | These Petitions &c. had been formally presen- | ted to the Parliament, but for the reasons rendred at the latter end. | London, | Printed for Ralph

Smith at the sign of the Bible in | Cornhill neer the Royal Exchange. 1648." Foolscap 4to. pp. 31.

There is copy of this work in the Prince library. On the verso of the title is the memorandum in the handwriting of Rev. Thomas Prince: "This seems to be ye style of Mr. N. Ward." A copy is also among the king's pamphlets in the British Museum, which Mr. Chester informs us has written on the title page, "in the unmistakable chirography of that time, these words, '*By ye Cobler of Aguaame: Mr Ward.* I presume," Mr. Chester adds, "the writing is Mr. Thomason's." The manuscript date is "May 5."

"Discolliminium, | or, | A most obedient Reply to a late Book, | Called, | Bounds & Bonds, | So farre as concerns the first Demurrer | and no further, | or rather | a Reply to Bounds onely. | Leaving Bonds to the second Demurrer and | Grand Casuist. | — | By B: | — | Psal. 40. 4 | Blessed is that man that maketh the Lord his trust and respecteth not | the proud nor such as turn aside to lyes. | London: | Printed in the Yeere, 1650."

This is the only one of the books which we know of being attributed to Mr. Ward, that we have never seen. The above copy of the title page has been made for us by Mr. Chester, from the copy in the Thomason collection in the British Museum. After "By B:" in this copy, is inserted in the handwriting of the time, "Mr. Ward ye Cobler of Aguame." The editor of *Notes and Queries*, who would be likely to know, calls it the handwriting of George Thomason, the collector. The manuscript date is "Aprill 23." The book is a small 4to, of 54 pages, and is dated at the end, "From my Chamber, Feb. 15, 1649."

2. Works attributed to Nathaniel Ward.

A Word to Mr. Peters, | and | Two Words for the Parliament | and Kingdom, | or | An Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet, entituled, A Word for the Armie, | and two Words to the Kingdom: | subscribed by Hugh Peters | wherein | The Authority of Parliament is infringed, | the fundamentall Laws of the Land subverted; | the famous city of London Blemished; and all | the godly Ministers of the City scandalised. | In Vindication of all which, this small Treatise | is published. | — | By a friend to the Parliament, City, and Ministery of it. | — |

Prov. 18. 17. | He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbour | comes and searcheth him. | — | London, | Printed by Fr: Neile for Tho: Underhill at the Signe of the | Bible in Woodstreet. 1647." Foolscap 4to, pp. 38.

Mr. Thomason's manuscript date on this tract is, "Nov. 9." A copy of this work is in the Prince library, where there is also a copy of Mr. Peters's work to which it is a reply, and which bears this title:

A Word for the | Armie | and two words to the | Kingdome | To Cleare the One | And Cure the other | Forced in much plainesse and bre | vity from their faithfull servant | — | Hugh Peters. | — | *Nunc properandus et acri* | *Figendus sine fine rotâ* | — | London, | Printed by M. Simmons for Giles Calvert at the black | Spread Eagle at the West end of Pauls. 1647. Small 4to, pp. 24.

Rev. Joseph B. Felt, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. v, p. 286, and the *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, vol. i, p. 599, attributes "A Word to Mr. Peters," to Nathaniel Ward. Prince furnishes us no information or conjecture, about the authorship of this book; but he has marked several passages, which have a bearing upon that of the *Religious Retreat*, and which he refers to in his memoranda in that work; namely:

"All that I shall say to you is this, that it would better become you to return to your Flock in *New England*, to see what cure your sheep want, from whom you have been so long absent, rather than to try your raw and heady experiments on a languishing State, which you will sooner kill then cure; but, alas, what hope have I, that you will return to undertake the Cure of souls there? I am sensible (so are you too) that Church cures in *New England* are not so gainfull as State-Cures in Old, they cannot give you hundreds at a time and 200*l*. per annum."—Page 3.

Mr. Peters p. 4 l. 19 Ans. I.

"Another Pedantick sounds a Retreat, who being nameless will not endure a Charge, the marrow of his Divinity none obedience.

"I observe you do with the Retreaters words as the Devill did with Scripture, leave out a chief part thereof: it was a *Religious Retreat*, yet the word Religious must not drop from your Pen, as if you thought him not Religious that chargeth any of you to be disobedient.

"2. But why do you call him a Pedantick? is it because his poverty makes him go on foot, when you in pomp can ride on horseback? doth this make you Vapour over your poore Brother? Well he is such a

Pedantick that will never lacquey it after your designes, nor hold the styrrop whiles you endeavour to get into the sadle of Promotion."— page 7.

"I confesse you call to mind, *John* of *Leyden's* practice (in whose saddle Master *Ward* tells you that Army sits), then 'tis not a new piece of disobedience."— p. 15.

"Certainly you owe the Retreater some old grudge; you mention *Gangræna* himself but once, but the Retreater thrice; his book and his Sermon sticks in your Stomach."— p. 26.

"Yea Mr. Ward in a Sermon before the House of *Commons* did deal plainly with you," etc.— p. 27.

"How can you call him [the Retreater] a stranger to his own Principles also? did he hold anything in New England, which he doth not in Old?"— p. 28.

"How can you say that his whole course is but a trade of Retreating? hath he not been a valiant champion in fighting under Christs banners against Popery, Heresie, and Prophanenesse, and not to this day left his Colours? But if you brand him with retreating, because he retreated from *New England* into *Old*, I know then who hath made a trade of Retreating; such a trade hath brought you in more gains in Old *England* in one year, then you could have gotten in *New England* in seven."— pp. 28 and 29.

The | Pulpit | Incendiary: | or, | The Divinity and Devotion of Mr. Calamy, | Mr. Case, Mr. Cauton, Mr. Cranford, and other Sion- | Colledge Preachers in their Morning-Exercises, | with the keen and angry Application thereof unto | the Parliament and Army. | Together | with a true Vindication of the Covenant from the | false Glosses put upon it, and a plain indication | of covenant breakers. | Micah 3. 5. 6. Thus saith the Lord concerning the Prophets that make my people to erre, | that bite with their teeth and cry peace; and he that putteth not into | their mouthes they even prepare warre against him; therefore shall | night be unto you, that you shall not have a vision; and it shall be darke | unto you, that you shall not divine; and the Sun shall go down over the | Prophets, and the day shall be dark over them: then shall the Seers be a- | shamed and the Diviners confounded, yea they shall all cover their lips. | for there shall be no answer of God. | Verse 10. | They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity,

the Priests | thereof teach for hire, the Prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they | lean upon the Lord, and say. Is not the Lord amongst us? none evill | shall come upon us. | — | Published according to Order. | — | Printed by C. S. in the yeare 1648. Foolscap 4to, pp. 62.

Rev. Dr. Felt thinks it probable that this work was written by Mr. Ward. See *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, vol. I, p. 599.

The manuscript date on the copy among the king's pamphlets in the British Museum, is "May 4."

Mecurius Anti-mechanicus, | or the | Simple Coblers | Boy. | With his Lap-full of Caveats (or Take | heeds) Documents, Advertisements and Præ | monitions to all his honest fellow-trades | men-Preachers but more especially | a dozen of them, in or about | the city of London. | — |

But if these things continue so, |
Poore Scholler whether wilt thou go? |
Thy Sciences are childrens knacks, |
Logical Art's a Nose of Wax. |

The Russet coats do now defie thee, |
Alas, the buckram Swaines out-vie thee.—
To Preach, lo, they have Toleration, |
And they do scorne thine Ordination; |
O learned slug, take notice of thy guides |
They work six dayes and yet they Preach besides. |
Ha nugæ in seria ducent. Hor. |
Fumo proxima flamma.

| — | By Theodore de la Guarden. | — | London, Printed for John Walker, at the sign of the Starre in | Popes-head alley. 1648. Pot 4to.

The verso of the title is blank. Then follows "The Epistle Dedicatory," 6 pages unnumbered, addressed "To his cunning and much more honest Parent, the Simple Cobler," and signed, "Theod. de la Guarden, or, Sim. Cob. Junior." After this, comes the work itself, pp. 1 to 52, with this heading: "Loving Admonitions, Caveats and Practicall Documents unto the Handicraft Preachers, especially these 12 that follow, who are or have been in and about the City of London." The work is divided as follows: "I. The Confectioner," pp. 1–8; "II. To

the Smith," pp. 8–12; "III. To the Right and Left Shoo-maker," pp. 12–16; "IV. To the needlesse Taylor, From his working (im-)posture," pp. 16–18; "V. To the studding Sadler," pp. 19–21; "VI. To the burdensome Porter," pp. 21–25; "VII. To the Labyrinthian Box-maker," pp. 25–30; "VIII. To the All-be-smearing soap-boyler, or the sleepy Sopor," pp. 30–33; "IX. To the Both-handed Glover," pp. 33–6; "X. To the white-handed Meal-man," pp. 37–41; "XI. To the Chicken-man," pp. 41–6; "XII. To the next, I have but one more, the Button-maker," pp. 46–51. Then follows some matter with the heading: "After a Prescript to the Preacher, I send a Postscript to the Readers and Hearers," pp. 51–2. The work closes with twelve lines of *errata*.

The copy among the king's pamphlets, has the manuscript date of publication, "Nov. 9."

APPENDIX XI.

Rev. Mr. Ward's Religious Retreat and Petitions to Parliament.

[By William Reed Deane, Esq., of Brookline.]

Rev. Nathaniel Ward wielded a pen of remarkable power. This is as strongly manifested in the *Religious Retreat* addressed to the army and the *Petitions to the House of Commons*, as in his other works which have been more widely known. He shows great skill in the quaintly eloquent and exceedingly cogent rhetoric of these productions. His statements of grievances are graphic. Whatever he considers the evils before him, he touches with a masterly hand. Clearness, honesty and spicy eloquence characterize his discussions of the moral questions of the day. He pleads with all the force of his genius for the salvation of the realm and the church, and with the earnestness of an advocate whose innocent client is on trial for his life. His period was one of the most critical in English history. The nation, at that time, may be compared to a rock poised upon a pivot, a slight turning in any direction decided its destiny, and yet it took great power to move it. To be able so to address the army and parliament, as to be heard amid the

many distracting voices that were superstitiously or ambitiously clamoring for attention, and to be felt amid all other conflicting influences as a power in the land, required not only great talent, but the utmost tact in bringing it to bear effectively upon the surrounding elements. Amidst the surges of the political ocean, the fire and smoke of the army, and the noise, and the cloudy and uncertain religious horizon, in currents and counter currents, Mr. Ward must have met with considerable difficulty and opposition in endeavoring to navigate his bark, bearing spicy, intellectual wealth, which he designed for the healing of the nation between Scylla and Charybdis, home to its destined port. His was a moral force, and being necessarily slower in its movements than the physical powers which were then in action around him, could not, in that early day, be made to prove itself an overmatch for the armies of the kingdom.

The distractions and difficulties of his time in England were analagous to those of our own, in our recent and even present experience in the United States. The most momentous questions were at issue.

In our own country, two centuries later, the discussion of the most vital points of public concernment, as evinced particularly in the written and spoken sentiments of our late lamented president, may show an advance in the power of ideas over physical force; but, nevertheless, the time has not yet come, as it is to be hoped it will at some future period,

'When the war drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.'

Physical force is still necessary. A pen at Whitehall or a proclamation at Washington must continue, when occasion may so require to move line of battle ships from their moorings, and launch them upon the deep, and to call forth armed hosts to march upon land for the preservation of the best treasures of civilization and humanity, which are sacredly deposited with the nations for safety, improvement and advance.

Boston, June, 1865.

APPENDIX XII.

The Rectory of Shenfield.

[From Davids's *Annals of Ecclesiastical Nonconformity in Essex*, pp, 463–4.]

"The living of Shenfield had been sequestered from John Childerley, in 1643. Childerley was of St. John's College, Oxford. When a junior fellow of that house, he became preacher to the English merchants at Stode; on his return, he became chaplain, first to Bancroft, and afterwards to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. In May, 1599, he became rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, which he resigned in 1609, and, in June, 1606, he was presented by James I, to the rectory of St, Dunston's-in-the-East. It was about this last date that he became rector of Shenfield. In 1643, he was 'very aged,' and Wood says he was 'also blind.' The ordinance for the sequestration of Shenfield, was made by the house of commons, April 18 of that year, and on the 23d, it was sent up to the house of lords. The case was then reinvestigated by the upper house, and Childerley was summoned to appear on the 28th. On the 29th, there is the following entry in the Journals: 'Upon the reading of the petition of John Childerley, D.D., shewing that he willingly consents and submits himself to the ordinance of sequestration, humbly desiring that the arrears of rents and tithes, due to him at Lady-day last, may be allowed him, and that the provisions which he hath in his house and barn, as wood and hay, may be allowed him, and he be permitted to dispose of them as he shall think fit, which this house granting, the Lords read the sequestration and passed it.' The living was then sequestered to the use and for the benefit of Henry Goodyere, and at the request of the parishoners. Goodyere was still there July 21, 1647." [1]

[1] The author gives these authorities of the paragraph: "Wood, *Fasti*, i, 157; Newcourt, i, 334, 463, ii, 526; *Journal of the House of Commons*, iii, 45, 53: *Journal of the House of Lords*, vi, 15, 21; Goodyeare, *Journal of the House of Commons*, ib.; *Additional Manuscripts*, 15671, 526."

Having written to Rev. Mr. Davids, the author of the preceding account, calling his attention to the fact that Newcourt makes John Kidby the rector at Shenfield, from 1645 to 1694, including part of the incumbency of Mr. Goodere, and the whole of that of Messrs. Ward and Bound, he replied to us as follows, under date of February 21, 1866:

"Since I published, I have met with an entry in a manuscript now among Mr. Baker's manuscripts, xxvii, 399–406, in the University library at Cambridge, kindly transcribed for me by a nephew of mine, and entitled, 'An Account of Ejectment of the Parochial Clergy, taken from the books of the Committee for Plundered Ministers,' vol. iii, which clears up the Kidby case. It is as follows:

"'Jan. 2, 1647.

"'Whereas the Rectory of Shenfield being sequestered from Dr. Childerley to the use of Mr. Henry Goodere, upon the death of the said Dr.,[1] Mr. John Kidby was then presented thereto, and settled therein, who being before & then sequestered by order of the Committee from the vicaridge of Kirby, in the said county, he was likewise, on the 2nd day of March last, sequestered from the said rectory of Shenfield, and the said Mr. Goodere therefore by order of the 8th of April was again invested with the said Rectory and the profitts thereof.—— It is this day ordered that the said Mr. Goodere shall have all tithes, rents, & glebe lands, & all other rents and profitts whatsoever of the said rectory which fell and became due & payable since 2nd of March, which the tenants of the said glebe & all other persons whom it respectively concerns are required to pay unto him respectively.'

"This will explain Newcourt's entry, probably on the authority of some mere memorandum, as the Registers which he professes to print were then suspended, the business being transferred to the Committees of the Parliament."

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[1] The living then, according to law, falling into the hands of the patron, who was entitled to present whom he would within the limits of the law.—*Note by Rev. Mr. Davids.*

On the 18th of July, 1867, Rev. Mr. Davids sent us the following additional facts respecting this rectory derived from manuscripts in the Bodleian library:

"*Bodleian*, vol. 353.— December 14, 1646. A petition of Hen. Goodere to whom the rectory is sequestered. Kidby summoned before the Committee.

Ibid., 324.— December 18, 1646. Kidby to show cause why Shenfield should not be sequestered from him for the same cause that Kirby had been.

Ibid.—12 January, 1645–7. Kidby's case to be heard February 9.

February 4, " " Cases deferred to March 2.

March 2, 1646–7. Kidby's cause heard and decided. Kirby was sequestered from him 16 September, 1643. The Committee therefore decide he is incapable of taking said rectory of Shenfield.

March 6, 1646–7. Goodere seems to have been objected to by some persons; not to be inducted until they are heard.

March 17, 1646–7. Kidby appeals. The Committee of the Co. to look into the matter.

April 8, 1647. Parishioners of Shenfield had petitioned. New and final decision is arrived at. It appears that the vicarage of Kirby was sequestered from Mr. K. by this committee, 16 Sept., 1643, Mr. K. being afterwards settled in the Rectory of Shenfield, he was in March last declared incapable, and Mr. Goodere referred to the Assembly of Divines, for the cure, and Mr. K. to the Committee of the Co. It is therefore ordered that the living stand to Mr. Goodere."

The date of Mr. Goodere's leaving Shenfield, is not determined precisely, though we know it was between July 21, 1647, and May 3, 1648, an interval of less than ten months. Rev. Mr. Davids finds evidence that Goodere was the incumbent at the former date,[1] while the Essex Testimony which Mr. Ward

[1] Ante, p. 179.

signed as minister of the parish was published at the latter.[1] We infer from the extract from the record of the committee for plundered ministers, printed in this article,[2] that Mr. Goodere was officiating here, January 2, 1647–8. If so, the time is reduced to about four months. Mr. Goodere was afterwards the minister of Hambledon in Bucks, from which living he was ejected at the restoration.[3]

Mr. Ward officiated at Shenfield for four years or more, and was succeeded, probably in November, 1652,[4] by Rev. George Bound, a son of Rev. Nicholas Bound and a nephew of the celebrated Rev. John Dod.[5] Palmer says that Mr. Bound "was ejected at the restoration and died before Bartholomew-day."[6]

Rev. Mr. Kidby then resumed his duties as rector of the parish, and retained the living till his death near the close of the century, his successor, Rev. John Seamler, being instituted October 3, 1694, "per mort. Kidby," according to Newcourt.[7]

APPENDIX XIII.

Letter of Rev. Thomas P. Ferguson.

Shenfield Rectory, Brentwood.

Dear Sir:

I am sorry that I am unable to give you any information about the Rev. Nathaniel Ward. I have looked in vain for any notice of him in our parish registers. The entries of the time are made without the name of the minister. The registers (of baptisms, marriages and burials) begin with the year 1538, and, except from 1646, to 1652, seem to have been kept very

[1] See Appendix X.
[2] Ante, p. 180.
[3] Davids's *Annals*, p. 541; Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. I, p. 238.
[4] See letter of Rev. Mr. Ferguson, Appendix XIII.
[5] Davids's *Annals*, p. 462.
[6] Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. I, p. 520.
[7] *Repertorium*, vol. II, p. 526.

regularly. There are a few entries between 1646 and 1652, in different hands; some of them (giving the dates, not of the *baptisms*, but of the *births* of children, and which may have been made subsequently from report), seem to be in the handwriting of Mr. Geo. Bound, who, in 1653, signs his name as "Min'r" to a memorandum of a parish celebration. From the beginning of November, 1652, to 1660, the entries are made regularly, apparently in Mr. Bound's hand. This may indicate that Mr. Ward's connection with the parish terminated about October, 1652.

There is a list preserved of parish officers, year by year, from 1630 to 1650, but there is no mention in it of the rector.

Stondon Massey is, as you suppose, four or five miles northwest from Shenfield. There is a sketch and some account of Shenfield Church in Buckler's *Churches of Essex*, published by Bell & Daldy, London, in 1852. I inclose a copy of the sketch: the church was restored and slightly altered two years since.[1]

I am sorry that I am so little able to assist your inquiries.

I am, yours faithfully,

THO'S P. FERGUSON,
Rector of Shenfield.

April 22, 1865.

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[1] An engraving of this sketch is given on page 112. The view of Stondon Massey Church on page 29, was sent to us by Mr. Reeve, the rector of that church.

APPENDIX XIV.

Biographical Sketch of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, Mass.

[From Mather's *Magnalia*, book III, chap. xxxi.]

The Life of Mr. John Ward.[1]

§ 1. Some famous Persons of old, thought it a Greater *Glory*, to have it enquired; *Why such a one had not a Statue erected for him?* Than to have it enquired, *Why he had?* Mr. *Nathaniel Ward* born at *Haverhil*, in *Essex*, about 1570, was bred a *Scholar*, and was first Intended and Employed for the Study of the *Law*. But afterwards travelling with certain Merchants into *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and having Discourse with *David Paræus*, at Heidelberg, from whom he received much Direction; at his return into *England*, he became a Minister of the Gospel, and had a Living at Stondon. In the Year 1634, he was driven out of England for his *Non Conformity*; and coming to *New-England*, he continued serving the Church of *Ipswich*, till the Year 1645. When returning back to *England*, he settled at *Sherfield* [sic], near *Brentwood*; and there he ended his Days, when he was about Eighty-three Years of Age. He was the Author of many Composures full of Wit and Sense; among which, that Entituled, *The Simple Cobler* (which demonstrated him to be a *Subtil Statesman*) was most considered. If it be enquired, *Why this our St.* Hilary *hath among our Lives no Statue erected for him?* Let that Enquiry go for part of one. And we will pay our Debt unto his *Worthy Son*.

§ 2. Mr. *John Ward* was Born, I think, at Haverhil,—on Nov. 5,—1606. His Grandfather was that *John Ward*, the Worthy Minister of *Haverhil*, whom we find among *The*

[1] In the Table of Contents, the title of this chapter is: "Modestus, Or, The Life of Mr. *John Ward*."

Worthies of England, and his Father was the Celebrated *Nathanael Ward*, whose Wit made him known to more *Englands* than One. Where his Education was, I have not been informed; the first Notice of him that occurs to me, being in the Year 1639, When he came over into these Parts of *America;* and settled there in the Year 1641, in a Town also called *Haverhil.* But *What* it was, every Body that saw him, saw it in the *Effects* of it, that it was Learned, Ingenuous, and Religious. He was a Person of a Quick *Apprehension*, a clear *Understanding*, a strong *Memory*, a facetious *Conversation;* he was an exact *Grammarian*, an expert *Physician*, and which was the Top of all, a thorough *Divine:* But, which rarely happens, these Endowments of his *Mind*, were accompanied with a most Healthy, Hardy, and Agile Constitution of *Body*, which enabled him to make nothing of walking on foot, a Journey as long as *Thirty Miles together.*

§ 3. Such was the Blessing of God upon his Religious *Education*, that he was not only *Restrained* from the Vices of Immorality in all his younger Years, but also *Inclined* unto all Vertuous Actions. Of young Persons, he would himself give this Advice; *Whatever you do, be sure to maintain Shame in them; for if that be once gone, there is no Hope that they'll ever come to good.* Accordingly, our *Ward* was always *ashamed* of doing any ill thing. He was of a *Modest* and *Bashful* Disposition, and very sparing of *Speaking*, especially before *Strangers*, or such as he thought his *Betters.* He was wonderfully Temperate, in Meat, in *Drink*, in *Sleep*, and he was [*sic*] always *Expressed*, I had almost said, *Affected*, a peculiar Sobriety of *Apparel.* He was a Son most Exemplarily *Dutiful* unto his *Parents;* and having paid some considerable *Debts* for his *Father*, he would afterwards humbly observe and confess, that God had abundantly *Recompenced* this his Dutifulness.

§ 4. Tho' he had great Offers of Rich Matches, in *England*, yet he chose to marry a meaner Person, whom *Exemplary Piety* had recommended. He lived with her more than Forty Years, in such an Happy *Harmony*, that when she died, he professed, that in all this Time, he never had received one

Displeasing *Word* or *Look* from her. Altho' she would so faithfully tell him of every thing that might seem *Amendable* in him, that he would pleasantly compare her to an *Accusing Conscience*, yet she ever *pleased* him wonderfully: And she would often put him upon the Duties of secret *Fasts*, and when she met with any thing in Reading that she counted singularly agreeable, she would still impart it unto him. For which Causes, when he lost this his Mate, he caused those Words to be fairly written on his Table-Board,

In Lugenda Compare Vitæ, Spacium Compleat Orbus.

And there is this memorable Passage to be added. While she was a Maid, there was ensured unto her, the Revenue of a Parsonage worth Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, in case that she married a Minister. And *all this had been given* to our *Ward* in case he had Conformed, unto the *Doubtful Matters* in the Church of *England:* But he left all the Allurements and Enjoyments of *England*, *chusing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God in a Wilderness.*

§ 5. Altho' he would say, *There is no place for Fishing like the Sea, and the more Hearers a Minister has, the more Hope there is that some of them will be catch'd in the Nets of the Gospel;* nevertheless, thro' his Humility and Reservation, it came to pass, that as he chose to begin his Ministry in *Old England*, at a very small Place, thus when he came to *New England*, he chose to settle with a *New Plantation*, where he could expect none but small Circumstances all his Days. He did not love to appear upon the *Publick Stage* himself, and there appeared few there that he did not prefer above himself: But when he was there, every one might see how conscientiously he sought the *Edification* of the Souls of the plainest Auditors, before the *Ostentation* of his own Abilities. And from the like *Self-Diffidence* it was, that he would never manage any *Ecclesiastical Affairs* in his Church, without previous and prudent *Consultations* with the best *Advisers* that he knew; He would say, *He had rather always follow Advice, tho' sometimes the Advice might mislead him, than ever act without*

Advice, tho' he might happen to do well by no Advice but his own.

§ 6. This Diligent Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, continued under and against many Temptations, watching over his Flock at *Haverhil*, more than twice as long as *Jacob* continued with his Uncle; yea for as many Years as there are *Sabbath* in the Year. On Nov. 19, 1693, he preached an Excellent Sermon, entering the *Eighty-Eighth* Year of his Age; the only Sermon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be preached in this Country at such an Age. He was then smitten with a *Paralytic* Indisposition upon the Organs of his Speech, which continuing about a Month upon him, not without Evident Proofs of his *Understanding* and his *Heavenliness*, continuing firm with him to the last; at last, on Dec. 27, he went off, bringing up the Rear of our First Generation.

Epitaphium.

Bonorum Ultimus, at inter Bonos non Ultimus.

Additions by J. W. D.

We will add a few facts to those given above by Mather. Mr. Ward entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1622, and took the degree of A. B., in 1626 and that of A. M., in 1630.[1] He was instituted rector of Hadleigh in Essex, Nov. 16, 1633, and preached there till 1639 when he resigned, a successor being instituted June 7.[2] The same year he came to New England, and for a short time assisted his uncle, Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, at Rowley. In December, 1639, he resided with his father at Ipswich; but he had removed to Newbury as early as the following February. Here he received a call from the people of Agamenticus, now York, Me., which he accepted,

[1] Hon. James Savage, *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. xxviii, p. 248–9.
[2] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. ii, p. 291.

and, in the spring, he proceeded thither. Not long after, he removed to the new settlement of Haverhill, where, on the formation of a church in 1645, he was ordained pastor and remained with his people till his death.[1]

Mather's statement, that he watched over his flock at Haverhill "as many years as there are Sabbaths in the year," has been doubted; but as he probably commenced preaching to the people of that place as soon as he removed there, which Mr. Chase thinks was in the autumn of 1641,[2] we see no improbability in the story. Firmin, writing in 1652, states: "It is frequent in *New England* to have a man elected and preach halfe a yeare, a whole yeare, yea, I know one elected and preached two yeares to his people, and they maintained him all that while and yet all that time he never administered a Sacrament to his people, but he and they when they would partake of the Lords Supper, went ten miles to Church out of which they issued to receive the Sacrament." [3]

The conjecture of Mather that perhaps no other sermon would be preached in this country at the age of eighty-seven has not proved correct. Within the last ten years, two clergymen have died who preached sermons after they had passed their one-hundredth year; namely, Rev. John Sawyer who died at Bangor, Me., Oct. 14, 1858, aged 103 [4] and Rev. Daniel Waldo, who died at Syracuse, N. Y., July 30, 1864, aged 101,[5] both natives of the state of Connecticut. His burial took place Dec. 28, 1693, the day following his death.[6] Mirick says of him: "If we may be permitted to judge from the records, and from what the early writers have said of him, we should say that no preacher ever had a stronger hold on the affections of his people than Mr. Ward. As a minister, he was honored; as a man, he was respected; as a neighbor, he was beloved." [7]

[1] Ante, p. 69–74.
[2] *History of Haverhill*, p. 40.
[3] *Separation Examined*, p. 56.
[4] New England *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XIII, p. 93.
[5] Ibid., vol. XIX, 81.
[6] Mirick's *History of Haverhill*, p. 73.
[7] Ibid., p. 74.

His will, which is dated about two months after the death of his wife, is on file at Salem. The following is a copy made from the original:

O Lord into thy hand commend I my spirit.
Credo languida fide sed tamen fide.

Dated 27 May. 1680.

Concerning that portion of worldly goods w^ch^ God of his rich bounty hath bestowed upon me I make this my last will and testament. I give to my beloved son Benjamin Woodbridge and to my beloved Daughter Mary his wife one parcell of land containing thirty acres more or lesse lying att the Norwest end of the towne of Haverhill in New England. I give also unto them another parcell of land containing fifety acres more or lesse lying in the same towne, and adjoyning to a smal brook commonly called Gills Lake. I give also unto them foure acres of medow lying in the same towne w^th^ in a medow commonly called the pond medow. I give also unto them all my right to all commonages and to all divisions of land that now are or hereafter may be due unto me in the aforesaid towne by any towne order, grant, or purchase from the inhabitants of the said towne excepting such lands and commonages as I have formerly given to my beloved son Nathaniel Saltonstall upon his marriage w^th^ my daughter Elizabeth, and also such lands and commonages and right to division of lands w^ch^ by this my last will and testament I doe give unto the said Nathaniel and his wife Elizabeth. further my will is that the sayed lands commonages and medow given to my son Woodbridg and to Mary his wife be not by them given sold, granted or alienated from the children of his and her body, unlesse upon urgent necessity and by the consent of M^r^ John Woodbridge of Newberry, M^r^ Samuel Phillips of Rowley M^r^ Zachary Simmes of Bradford and my son Saltonstal and Elizabeth his wife, or the major part of them all of them being first acquainted therw^th^ I give to my beloved son Nathaniel Saltonstall and to my beloved

daughter Elizabeth his wife my house and land adjoyning thereunto commonly called the house lott lying in the towne of Haverhill aforesaid, and also my land upon the Island belonging to the same towne, also fouer cow commonages besids those formerly given unto them, w^ch^ house and lands and commonages my will is, that neyther the said Nathaniel nor Elizabeth his wife shall give, sell, or grant, or alienate any part of them from the children of his and her body, but upon urgent necessity, and w^th^ and by the consent of M^r^ John Woodbridg of Newberry M^r^ Samuel Phillips of Rowley Mr. Zachary Simmes of Bradford, Captaine John Appleton, and Captaine John Whipple both of Ipswich, all of them being first made acquainted therewith I give also halfe of that part of the fourth division of land due to me by an order of the aforesaid towne to my son Saltonstall and his wife Elizabeth the other halfe to my son Woodbridg and Mary his wife. Lastly I constitute and appoynt my beloved son Saltonstall the sole executor of this my last will and testament, and do hereby make voide all former wills made by me witness my hand and seal.

or the major part of them.

JOHN WARD.

Signed and sealed in the presence of us } WILLIAM WHITE
THOMAS EATTON
BENJAMIN ROLFE.

Jan : 23 : 92-3 ownd before JOHN WHITE

The words the major part of them written in the margent, were written before the signing and sealing, so testifie we

WILLIAM WHITE,
THOMAS EATTON.

New England. Essex. ss.

Before y^e^ Honour^ble^ Bartholmew Gedney Esq^r^ Judge of y^e^ probat of Wills & Granting letters of Administracō in y^e^ S^d^ County of Essex. att. Ipswich March, 28 : 1694.

Mr Benjamin Rolfe & John White both of Haverhill made oath That on January y^e^ 23d 169$\frac{3}{4}$ they were present with M^r^ John Ward who produced this within written Instrument & did publish & declare y^e^ same to be his last Will and Testament

That he was then of a disposing mind to their best descerning & that they y^n^ Subscribed as Witnesses thereunto.

Jurat: Attest STEPH: SEWALL Reg^r^.

Barth^o^ Gedney Esq^r^ Psent.

Thomas Eaton made Oath that he was Caled to be a witness to y^e^ within Will of M^r^ John Ward & did Subscribe thereunto as a Witness & that William White did then Set to his hand as a witness in like manner March 29th, 1694.

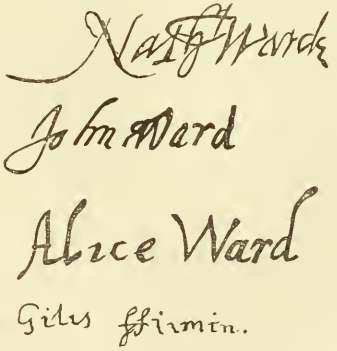
Sworn attes^t^ STEPH: SEWALL, Reg^r^.

This Will appearing to be y^e^ hand Writing of y^e^ Testator and no ℔ son appearing to Objeet against y^e^ probate of y^e^ Same.

It is therefore proved approved & allowed.

Attest STEPH: SEWALL Reg^r^.

Mr. Ward's wife whose Christian name was Alice and whose maiden name is said to have been Edmunds [1] died March 24, 1679 – 80.[2] A fac-simile of her autograph and those of her husband and his father and brother-in-law are annexed. Mr. Chase says that Mr. Ward was married to her in 1646;[3] but as Mr. W. evidently had a wife in 1639,[4] and as Mather says that he lived with his wife "more than forty years," we think Mr. Chase must be mistaken in the date. They had two daughters, 1. Elizabeth, born April 7, 1647, and died April 29, 1741, who married Col. Nathaniel Saltonstall. 2. Mary, born June 24, 1649, who married Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge.



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[1] Mirick's *History of Haverhill*, p. 19

[2] Mirick's *History of Haverhill*, p. 19; Chase's *History of Haverhill*, pp. 41 and 133.

[3] Chase's *Haverhill*, p. 48.

[4] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVII, p. 275.

Col. Nathaniel Saltontall's children by his wife Elizabeth were: 1. Gurdon, governor of Connecticut; 2. Elizabeth, who married first Rev. John Dennison, and secondly, Rev. Roland Cotton; 3. Col. Richard; 4. Nathaniel; and 5. John; the latter of whom died early. For dates and descendants of these children, see Bond's *Watertown*, pp. 922–30.

Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge,[1] by his first wife Mary Ward had: 1. Elizabeth, b. at Windsor, Ct., April 31, 1673, d. at Exeter, N. H., Dec. 6, 1729, æ. 56, whose first husband was Rev. John Clark and her second Rev. John Odlin, both of Exeter. 2. Benjamin, who died early. 3. Hon. Dudley, of Barbadoes, born at W., Sept. 7, 1677, graduated at Harvard College in 1696,[2] and died Feb. 11, 1720. 4. Benjamin, born at W., Oct. 12, (?) 1680, who was a merchant in Boston.[3] Mrs. Mary (Ward) Woodbridge is said to have died Oct. 11, 1680. Probably the birth of her son Benjamin and her own death occurred during the night Oct. 11–12.

Elizabeth Woodbridge, by her first husband Mr. Clark, had: 1. Benjamin; 2. Nathaniel; 3. Deborah;[4] married to Major Thomas Deane, whose descendants are given in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. IX, p. 93; and 4. Rev. Ward of Kingston, N. H. By her second husband, M. Odlin, she

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[1] For notices of him, see Brooks's *History of Medford*, pp. 203-8; Stiles's *History of Windsor, Ct.*, pp. 176-90; *American Quarterly Register*, vol. XI, p. 272; vol. XII, p. 265.

[2] There were two Dudley Woodbridges who graduated at Harvard College, one in 1694 and the other in 1696, and there has been some doubt expressed (see Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, art. Woodbridge) as to which was the graduate of 1694 and which that of 1699; but as Dudley, son of Rev. John of Wethersfield, received a call to settle at Simsbury, Ct., before 1696, namely, Oct. 2, 1695, and as it is not probable that an undergraduate would receive a call, there can be no doubt that he was the graduate of 1694, and his cousin Dudley, son of Rev. Benjamin, above, the graduate of 1696.

[3] Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge had another child, we presume, by a second wife, namely, Rev. Samuel of East Hartford, Ct., born about 1683, having died June 9, 1746 æ. 63, of whom and his descendants an account will be found in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. VI, pp. 281–2.

His last wife was Deborah, daughter of Daniel Cushing, and widow of Henry Tarlton to whom he is said to have been married August 31, 1686. See Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, art. Woodbridge.

[4] The writer of these notes is a descendant from Rev. John Ward through Deborah (Clark) Deane his descent being 1, Deborah; 2, John; 3, John; 4, Charles; and 5, John Ward Dean.

had 5. John; 6. Rev. Elisha of Amerbury; 7. Dudley, and 8. Rev. Woodbridge of Exeter.

Hon. Dudley Woodbridge was director general of the Royal Assiento[1] Company of England in Barbadoes, the agent of the South Sea Company there, and judge advocate of the island. He was also a member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His portrait, painted by Knèller in 1718, was engraved, in mezzotint, the same year by Smith.[2] Hutchinson says that "Mr. Woodbridge, a New England man" was the projector of paper money in Barbadoes.[3] He had at least two children, Dudley and Benjamin, the latter of whom was killed at Boston, July 3, 1728,[4] aged 19 yrs. 2 mos.[5]

Rev. Dudley Woodbridge, rector of the parish of St. Philip, in the island of Barbadoes, was probably a son of the preceding, In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for August, 1747, p. 393, will be found an epitaph on his wife, whose Christian name is not given. This epitaph is copied into the *Historical Magazine*, vol. II, p. 26. He died between March 15, 1747–8, and July 20, 1748. His widow Ruth resided at Boston, N. E., at the date of her will, December 23, 1748, and died before the 9th of the following month. Rev. Mr. Woodbridge makes a bequest to his "sister Mary Alleyne, of Boston, N. E., widow of Major Abel Alleyne, formerly of" Barbadoes; and his widow, Ruth, also, makes a bequest to her, as her "sister-in-law."

"Several years after John Ward left Ipswich, another John Ward, a "chirurgeon"[6] took up his residence there. The earliest date at which Rev. Dr. Felt finds him there, is 1648.[7] His will, which was dated December 28, 1652, and proved 25th of 1st month, 1656, is printed, with his inventory, in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XXII, pp. 31–3. He

[1] See Webster's *Dictionary* (unabridged) *sub voce*.

[2] Noble's *Continuation of Granger's Biographical History of England*, vol. III, p. 260.

[3] *History of Massachusetts*, vol. I, 1st and 2d editions, p. 402; 3d edition, p. 356.

[4] See Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, vol. II, pp. 550–64; Drake's *History of Boston*, p. 579: and Bridgman's *Pilgrims of Boston*, p. 191.

[5] *Boston Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths, in loco.*

[6] *Suffolk Registry of Deeds*, lib. I, folio 252.

[7] *History of Ipswich*, p. 13.

mentions these relatives: "cousine Nathaniel Ward sun of my uncle Nathaniel Ward;" — "cousine Ward's of Wethersfield's two youngest suns," both under 21 years of age; — "cousine John Barker's ['of Boxted in Essex,'] eldest daughter, Anne Barker;" — "cousine Samuel Sharman's ['that died some years since in Boston, in New England,'] two youngest sons;" — and "cousin Philip Sharman of Rood Island." He mentions also "the house and land given me by my father's will, and that lies in East Mersey in the county of Essex in Old England." He bequeaths to his uncle, Nathaniel Ward aforesaid, "the rents and profits that have com of that tenement since I made Edward Sharman of Dedham last my attorney for receiving of it, they being in his or the tenant's hands Still being next March two years and a half's rent."

Soon after the publication of this will, Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, Ct., wrote to us as follows: "In the January number of the *Register*, I notice your contribution of the will of Dr. John Ward of Ipswich. I can tell you something of this testator which may be in time for a note in your forthcoming volume. This John Ward was son and heir of John Ward, a clothier, of Stratford, co. Suffolk, whose widow Anne died before September, 1640. By the father's or the mother's will, or by both, the rents and profits of land in *East* or *West Mersey*, or elsewhere, in Essex, and "of two ships and other rights" were made payable to Dr. John Clarke (of Newbury), during the nonage of the heir. In September, 1640, Dr. Clarke ('John Clarke of Newberry in New England, late citizen and Chirurgeon of London'), who was one of the executors of the widow Anne Ward's will, gave a letter of attorney to *Edward Sherman of Dedham*, co. Essex, clothier, to receive and recover, &c., the rents and profits payable to him in trust for John Ward, the son, under the wills of John Ward senior and his widow. The copy of this letter of attorney, in Thomas Lechford's autograph, is before me, and from it, I derive all the facts.

"Young Ward studied 'chirurgery,' no doubt, with his guardian, Dr. Clarke, and possibly came with the latter to New England.

"I find nothing to connect him with John of Haverhill or Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich; but incline rather to look for 'cousinship' to the Hartford and Wethersfield Wards. However I have nothing in this direction, beyond mere conjecture."

The last remarks of Mr. Trumbull were called out by the statement copied from Mr. Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary* (art. Ward), that Dr. John Ward was a *cousin* of Rev. John. It is evident that they were not *first* cousins and probably they were not *second* cousins, though we know of no facts to disprove their being cousins, in the sense attached to this word in those days.

APPENDIX XV.

Biographical Notice of James Ward.

John Ward, son of Nathaniel, graduated at Harvard College in 1645,[1] and was incorporated A. B. of Oxford University, Oct. 10, 1648. His testimony dated Dec. 3, 1646, was subscribed by Henry Dunster, president, and Samuel Danforth, fellow of Harvard College.[2] After he was incorporated he was admitted A. M. On 14th of November, 1649, he was created bachelor of physic by the favor of Gen. Fairfax. He was also made a fellow of Magdalen College by the visitors.[3]

He was evidently the youngest child of his father that grew up. The nearest approach to ascertaining his age is obtained from the statement in Winthrop's *Journal* under date of June 5, 1644, where he is said to have been at that time about twenty years of age.[4] This would make him about eighteen years younger than John.

It appears from the Candler manuscript that he left no issue.

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[1] *Catalogus Universitatis Harvardianæ* (1866), p. 1.
[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. II, f. p. 64.
[3] Ibid., f. p. 85.
[4] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. II; 1st ed. p. 166; 2d ed., p. 102.

APPENDIX XVI.

Letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

[From the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 23–30.]

1. *To John Winthrop.*

To the Worshipfull & his much respected ffriend Mr. Winthrope, Gouernour of the New-English Company, att Mr. Porters in Soaper Lane dd. dd. dd.
In his absence to Mr. Johnson.

Sir: I purpose to see yow this next weeke att London, if God permitt. In the meane tyme I intreate yow to reserue rooms & passage in your shipps for 2 families, a carpenter & bricklayer, the most faithfull & dilligent workmen in all our parts; one of them both putt of a good farme this weeke, & sold all, & should be much dammaged & discouraged if he finds no place among yow. He transports himselfe att his owne charge. There is a paire of sawyers also especially laborious; all of them will come to yow vpon monday or tuesday. I pray lett them discerne your harty desire of their company. And so I comitt you to God.

Yours in all Christian affection

Nathl. Warde.

Stondon, Jan. 16.°[1]

2. *To John Winthrop, Jr.*

Sir: I receiued your loving letter in Mr. Hall's behalfe: I was neuer against his having a lott amongst vs. nor to my remembrance haue spoken any thinge to hinder him; only the company that he brought to towne, & his manner of cominge, before the towne knew any such thinge, was obserued and disliked. I neuer heard [a] sillable of that yow mention in your letter concerning a mayde in Ireland, till the tyme of open-

[1] 1630, N. S.— *Eds. Massachusetts Historical Collections.*

ing your letter; att that instant Mr. Dudley was telling me of it. I dare not beleeue empty rumours aiganst any man: I am & shalbe tender of young & hopefull men, & ready to incourage them. I am bold to say I am & haue bene & shalbe so, whateuer is reported to the contrary. Our towne of late, but somewhat too late, haue bene carefull on whome they bestowe lotts, being awakned thereto by the confluence of many ill & doubtfull persons, & by their behauiour since they came, in drinking and pilferinge; I pray, if you speake with Mr. Hall, advise him to suffer no priuate drinking in his howse, wherein I heare lately he hath bene to blame. The reasons which moue our freemen to be very considerate in disposall of lotts & admission of people to vs are thes: ffirst, we conceiue the less of Satan's Kingdome we haue in our towne, the more of Gods presence & blessinge we may expect. 2ly, we haue respect to the creditt of our Church & towne, from which we heare there are too many vniust detractions in the bay, to serue their owne ends. 3ly, we consider our towne as a by or port towne of the land, remote from neighbours, & had neede to be strong & of a homogeneous spirit & people, as free from dangerous persons as we may. Lastly, our thoughts & feares growe very sadd to see such multitudes of idle and profane young men, servants & others, with whome we must leaue our children, for whose sake & safty we came ouer, & who came with vs from the land of their nativity, their freinds & many other comforts, which their birthright intitled them to, relying vpon our loue, wisdome, & care, to repay them all in this wildernes either in specie or compensations; but I must confesse it sinks vs almost to the graue to looke vpon the next generation, to whome we must leaue them & the fruite of our adventures, labours & counsells: we knowe this might haue bene easily prevented by due & tymely care of such as had the opportunity in their hand; & if it be not yet remedied, we & many others must not only say, with greif, we haue made an ill change, euen from the snare to the pitt, but must meditate some safer refuge, if God will afford it: but I hope he will cause light to shine out of darknes & glorifie his strenght in the weaknes of men; & do that which seemes

to be past all doing. We haue our eyes upon yow magistrats to helpe vs; & now, good Sir, giue me leaue with patience to tell yow, as I did before yow went to England, that your absence hath bredd vs much sorrowe, & your still going from vs to Connecticote doth much discourage vs. I feare your tye or obligation to this state, & in speciall to this towne, is more then you did well consider when you ingaged your self another way; & I feare your indeauours that way will not be *operæ ac sumptûs pretium*. I am in a dreame, att least not awake, if it be the way of God for so many to desert this place, turning their backs upon vs, & to seeke the good of their cattell more then of com^n^, & my thonghts are that God doth instly rebuke our state by the losse of so many men, vessells, & victualls, in a tyme of dearthe, for their facility in giving way to their departure; for your part we looke & long for yow here, & are in a misery for the want of yow. The Lord bring yow in his season, & in the meane tyme afford yow his presence & blessinge where euer yow are; & so I rest

Your worships in all truth of loue

NATHL. WARDE.

Ipswich, Dec. 24.[1]

I forgett not my due respect to your father, mother, & wife.

I heare Mr. Coddington hath the sale & disposall of much prouision come in this shipp. I intreate yow to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserue some meale & malt, & what victualls els he thinks meete, till our Riuer be open; our Church will pay him duely for it. I am very deestitute, I haue not aboue 6 bushells corne left, & other things answerable.

3. *To John Winthrop.*

To our much honored Governor att Boston.

Sir: I thanke you very much for your loue & liberality, by Mr. Rawson, you sent me more then I desired. I haue 2 more earnest requests to you, 1. That yow would please to advise

[1] We should have no hesitation in indicating 1635 as the year in which this letter was written, were it not that Mr. Felt does not find Mr. Hall (Samuel) a resident of Ipswich till the next year, though this is not conclusive against his settling there the year before.— *Eds. Massachusetts Historical Collections.*

thoroughly with the counsell, whether it will not be of ill consequence to send the Court busines to the common consideration of the freemen. I feare it will too much exauctorate the power of that Court to prostrate matters in that manner. I suspect both Commonwealth and Churches haue discended to lowe already; I see the spirits of people runne high, & what they gett they hould. They may not be denyed their proper & lawfull liberties, but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferiour sort in that which should be reserved *inter optimates penes quos est saucire leges.* Yf Mr. Lachford haue writt them out, I would be glad to peruse one of his copies, if I may receiue them.

The other is that yow would not passe your promise, nor giue any incouragement concerning any plantation att Quichichacke or Penticutt, till my self & some others either speake or write to yow about it, which shallbe done so soone as our counsilles & contrivalls are ripened. In too much hast. I comitt yow & your affaires to the guidance of God, in whom I rest.

Your Worshipps in all Christian service

NATHL. WARDE.

M^s. 10^s: 22°.[1]

There is a necessity that the Covenant, if it be agreed vpon, should be considered & celebrated by the seuerall congregations & townes, & happily the ..... [2] but I dare not determyne concerning the latter. I meane of putting it to the suffrage of the people.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Cosin Warde."

4. *To John Winthrop.*

To the Worshipfull our Gouernour att Boston.

Sir: We are bold to continue our suite concerning the plantation I lately mencioned to yow: our company increases apace from diuers townes, of very desirable men, wherof we desire to be very choise: this next weeke, if God hinder vs

[1] This letter has no date of year; but it was evidently written in 1639, Dec. 22. — *Eds. Massachusetts Historical Collections.*

[2] A doubtful word.— *Eds. Massachusetts Historical Collections.*

not, we purpose to view the places & forthwith to resort to yow, & in the meane tyme we craue your secrecy, I rest

Your Worships

NA : WARDE

We haue alreddy more than 20 families of very good Christians purposed to goe with vs, if God will, & we heare of more.

Our neighbour townes are much grieued to see the lauish liberality of the Court in giving away the countrye. Some honest men of our towne affirme that in their knowledge there are 68 townes in England, within as litle compasse as the bounds of Ipswich : I knowe neere 40 where I dwelt : Rowly is larger then Ipswich, 9 or 10 miles longe, & will have other plantations within it, tributaries to it, & intend, as we heare, to stretch their wings much further yet, & will spoil Qutchicqute vtterly, if not Pentucket. We earnestly pray yow to prevent it. We should incourage many to come ouer, if many plantations were not spoiled by the extreame largnes of those that are already giuen. Our purpose is to haue no great bounds.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Mr. NA : WARDE."

5. *To John Winthrop.*

Sir : I thanke you much for your letter & loue, & those also of the plantation for their good esteeme of mee, which I trust I shall not be backward to requite to my poore power. When I came out of the bay, matters were left thus betweene Mr. Shepheard & mee. That if there might be any subsistence there this winter, I should heare from him: speaking both with him & some of the plantation, I discerned that they thought it too difficult to adventure thither till the extremity of the winter were abated. I acknowledge I am tender, & more vnfit for solitarines & hardshipp then some other, especially att this tyme, through many colds & seeds of the bay sicknesses I brought from thence, yet if God & counsell cast me vpon any worke or condition, I should labour not to wayue his good prouidence. I heare there is no priuate roome there, litle prouision, and not a woman to dresse meate or wash linnen, & the cheif of the men are like to be absent for the most parte att

their owne homes. I am much troubled what to doe, but vpon Mr. Shepheard's letters I shall take advise, and doe what God shall direct & inable me vnto. In the meane tyme, iterating my thankfull respect to your selfe and them, craving your prayers, I rest

Your worships in all Christian services

NATHL. WARDE.

Ipswich, 9ᵇʳ 26.[1]

NOTE BY J. W. DEAN.— The extract from a letter, mentioned on page 92, as being possibly the production of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, is as follows:

"*An Extract of a Letter written from a Minister in New England to a Member of the Assembly of Divines.*

"Discipline or Church Government is now the great businesse of the Christian World. God grant we forget not the doctrine of Repentence from dead Works, and Faith in the Lord Jesus. I long much to see, or hear, what is done in *England* about this matter, I shall not fall into particulars, as I might do, could we speak mouth to mouth. I am no Independent neither are many others, who say *Communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ ab initio regebantur;* nor am I of a democratical spirit. Much have I seen in my almost eleven years abode in this Wildernesse; and I wish such as maintain an Independent Democracy, had seen and found as much experimentally. A house is like to be well governed, where all are Masters; but no more of this. For my self, God hath been here with me, and done me much good, learning me something of my self and of men. *N. E.* is not Heaven, and here we are men still.

December 8, 1645."

[1] There is nothing in this letter to indicate definitely the year in which it was written. The plantation the writer speaks of, to which his friends "thought it too difficult to adventure" "till the extremity of the weather were abated," may possibly refer to the new settlement at Haverhill, which he was early interested in, and in which his son John became an early inhabitant. If so, the year was probably 1640, or 1641. If such had been his intention, there is no evidence that Nathaniel Ward ever became a resident of that town — *Eds. Massachusetts Historical Collections.*

ADDITIONS AND ERRATA.

Page 41, lines 5 and 6, *for* Matthew Bradbury *read* Mary widow of John Bradbury. [John Bradbury died August 1, 1624. A posthumous son was baptized at Wicken Bonant, by the rector, the Rev. Thomas Wadeson, a fortnight later, August 15th. One of the witnesses was "the Bishop of Methe."]

Page 61, note [4], *for* 56 *read* 58.

Page 79, line 17, *for* a majority *read* many.

Page 88, note [7], *after* p. iv. *insert* Mr. Pulsifer does not remember from what document he obtained this fact; but he is confident that he had good authority for his statement.

Page 96, line 3 from bottom, *after* printed. *insert* According to Rushworth (vi, 596) the clergymen who preached before parliament that day, namely, Drs. Smith and Rainbow to the lords, and Messrs. Ward and Mainton to the commons, "had thanks and [were] ordered to print their Sermons, save only Mr. Ward who gave offence."

Page 128, line 3 and note [2], *for* Ginningham *read* Gimingham.

Page 129, note [2], *for* Charlestown village, *read* Charlestown Village.

Page 133, line 2 from bottom, *read* desirous of the birth-right of your loue and blessing.

Page 139, line 8, *for* Ipswich *read* Suffolk.

Page 141, note [2], *after* 164. *read* Rev. Jeremy Collier, who was born only a quarter of a century after this controversy, and who was educated at Ipswich — under his father, the master of the free school there — makes a similar statement, calling them "two preachers of Ipswich." — *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, ed. 1840, vol. VII, p. 442.

We know, however, that Mr. Yates was of Norwich, where he was the rector of St. Andrew's church from 1616 till his death in November, 1626. It is possible that Collier, in his youth, may have heard at Ipswich that Mr. Ward was of that place, and an indistinct recollection of this, when he wrote, may have led him to think that both clergymen resided there.

Page 141, line 5 from bottom, *for* on *read* an.

Page 147, note [1], *after* Rev. Nathaniel Ward. *insert.* But the poet Herbert is really its author. In *The Church Militant* these lines occur:

> "Religion stands on tip-toe in our land
> Readie to passe to the American strand."
> *Herbert's Poems* (Boston, 1855), p. 247.

Walton, in his *Life of Herbert*, informs us that "when Mr. Ferrar sent this book [*The Temple*, &c.] to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses:

> "Religion stands a tip-toe [&c., as above]

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them; but after some time and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice Chancellor said, 'I knew Mr. Herbert well and know he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book.'" — *Zouch's edition of Walton's Lives* (York, 1796), pp. 386–7.

As Herbert was buried March 3, 1632–3, the lines must have been written before that date. They were printed in 1633.

Mr. Moore quotes this distich, in his article on *Prophetic Voices about America*, in the *Historical Magazine* for February, 1868, vol., XIII, p. 92.

Page 159, *after* line 21, *insert.* The first edition was published as early as 1624; for Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his *Autobiography* (I, 249), mentions having read, on Monday the 5th of July in that year, "many excellent directions and instructions in a small pamphlet styled '*The Life of Faith for the attaining and practising of that Grace*' set forth and published by Mr. Samuel Warde, Bachelor of Divinity, an eminent preacher at Ipswich."

Page 161, line 2 *for* 311, contains *read* 311. It contains.

Page 176, line 10, *for* Mecurius *read* Mercurius.

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